John Carter Brown.

BOUND BY F. BEDFORD

Voir Recueil p. 23.

Roland. Francis

Memoirs
OF
DARIEN

Giving a short Description of that Countrey, with an Account of the Attempts of the

Company of *SCOT LAND*,

To Settle a **COLONIE** in that Place.

With a Relation of some of the many Tragical Disasters, which did attend that Design.

With some practical Reflections upon the whole.

Written mostly in the Year 1700. while the Author was in the *American* Regions.

Quæque ipse Miserrima vidi,
——Hæc olim meminisse Juvabit.

Deut. 8. 2, 15, 16. Thou shalt Remember all the way, which the Lord thy GOD led thee through that great and Terrible wilderness to humble thee and to prove thee, and to do thee good at thy latter End.

GLASGOW
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JOHN CARTER BROWN.

Preface to the Reader.

THE Author of these ensuing MEMOIRS having been an Eye Witnes of many of the Tragical passages of Providence, and Exercised with a Share of the many Calamities that befell his Couuntry-men abroad, in the Wilderness and upon the Sea: Was the more capable to give an Account of Particulars relating to the Disign of *Caledonia*. And what Passages he did not see himself, these he relates as he had them delivered by credible Persons, who were eye witnesses of them when they occurred. And the Author being the only Person of all the Ministers who were sent abroad upon the service of *Caledonia*, that lived to return to his Native Country. He Reckoneth himself upon that account the more concerned to preserve the memorie of this following History: Both for his own instruction many ways, as also for the satisfaction of others who may desire to be impartially informed of these Matters, as they happened & fell out. He being in this Case not unlike one of Jobs Servants and Messengers, remarkably preserved from the general Calamities, that he may in some sense say, I only am escaped alone to tell the: There being several Particulars in this ensuing Account, and these not unworthy of Remembrance, which none now alive are capable to give a Relation of, besides himself.

The Readers of this Narrative will come by a cheap and easy Knowledge of those many dismall Occurences

of Providence, beyond what the Writer, with many others who saw and felt them, and had their Share therein, did meet with and had the Trial of. Which if they will duely consider, must needs stir up Bowels of Pity and Commiseration, toward such as they may perceive have been so afflicted and distressed; and humble thanksgiving to God for his distinguishing Goodness toward themselves, beyond what some of their Country-men have mett with. Besides other useful instructions, which they may learn hence, and are in part hinted at in these following Memoirs and reflections thereupon.

Moreover the Author of this Relation reckons himself deeply oblidged in point of Gratitude to his great Preserver and Deliverer, to preserve and leave this following Account, as some Token and Monument of his humble Gratitude to the Lord God of his Salvation, for the many Wonders of his mercy, distinguishing Favour and gracious Conduct of fatherly Providence toward himself, beyond others stronger and better then he. That the Lord who leads the Blind in a way they know not, led him by a right way, guided him by many sad Calamities and ruining Disasters, was his Healer and Help in Trouble, gave his Angles charge over him to keep him in all his Ways, and underneath were the everlasting Arms: And when, he cryed unto the Lord in trouble, He heard him and delivered him from his destructions, and as his Day was, so he made his strength to be, and at length returned him in peace and safety to his own. Here therefore, he desires to set up his EBEN-NEZER.

Psal. 107. 8. *O that men would praise the* Lord *for his goodness, and for his wonderfull works to the Children of Men.*

Memoirs of *Darien.*

DARIEN is a Countrey of the West-indies upon the main continent of *America*, situate upon at famous Isthmus which joyns the two great Peninsu-s of North & South America into one great Continent. his Isthmus is called somtimes the Isthmus of *Darien* mtimes the Isthmus of *Panama*, from the name of e chief City therein, and more Antiently it went by e name of *Terra-firma*, because it was the first main nd of America, discovered by the *Spaniards*. That ott of it which the *Scots* setled upon, and named ALEDONIA, is situate toward the Southerly Part this Isthmus, distant about 10. Leagues from the lph of *Darien*, or Gulph of *Uraba*, lying Southeast m it, Its Latitude is about 8. degrees Northerly. o the North it hath *Jamaica*, distant from it about o. leagues: To the Eastward it hath *Carthagena* out 50. Leagues off. And to the westward, *Porto-bell* n the North-side of this Isthmus about 40. Leagues, *Panama* on the South side, at some further distance, d to the south-ward lyeth *Santta-Maria* about 20. agues. So that the *Spanish* Settlements were neigh-uring to it on all Hands, save the North: And leed it was the great unhappiness of our new lonie, that it was planted too near such bad Neigh-urs. our utter Enemies, too many & too strong for to have to do with-all in our weak & infant State. It is a Countrey most part mountanous & hilly and t even to the Shoar, which lieth along Sowtheast and North-

North.west; The mountains extend themselves in Ridges paralell with the Shoar, the lower Ridge of mountains being next to the Shoar, & this Ridge again backed & intercepted with an higher ridge of mountains running paralell with the former, with Interjacent valleys & marishes between them: And so Successively, the further inlands you go, still the Ridges of mountains ascend the higher. Accordingly I find Geographers generally describing this whole *American* Isthmus, to be full of mountains & Marishes, & its Air to be continually Cloudie & dark, & very hot, withall, which renders it very unhealthy especially in the wet season from *April* to November inclusively.

The Countrey is wholly clad with thick & tall Woods, being a continued Forrest, as the most part of *America* is: The trees here are many of them of a vast bigness, some we observed to be of 5,6, & 7 fathoms about, & nearer the Shoar we perceived the trees to be bigger, then further up the Country. The woods here are in some places very thick & entangled & interwoven with Withes, that it is very difficult and uneasie traveling through them, many of the mountains are very steep & sharp & narrow at the top, much resembling the Ridge of an House: The valleys for the most part about this place, not very broad between the mountains. But by the banks of the little Rivers of Acla the greater and Acla the lesser, there is a pretty considerable bounds of valley and plain ground.

The soil in these parts about our settlement, is generally a strong deep earth and clayie, intermixed with sand in some places, and if subdued and cultivated, would be abundantly fertile of all that is proper for this Climat: Along the shoar here, the Coast is generally Rockie, with a mixture of Rocks, which they call Corall

Corall Rocks, among which alſo are ſome pleaſant Bays of ſand, ſcattered up and down. One thing obſervable we remarked near the place of our Fort, That the Roots of trees cut down ſometime agoe, ſeemed to be petrified and turned into ſtone, reſembling the nature of the Rocks by the Sea ſide, and retaining withall the marks and likneſs of the grain of the wood in them.

It was a ſpot of low ground where our men fetled and built their Fort, a ſort of Earth mixed with ſand, It was wet mariſh ground about it, in the rainy ſeaſon, next adjacent to the Fort, there wasabout the ſpace of half a mile leavell ground, and then the Hills aſcended to the Eaſt and Northeaſt, to the ſoutheaſt of the Fort lay the Bay, which was the Road and Harbour for their Ships, this Bay is about 3 miles deep, and about half a mile broad, and in ſome place s broader. The entry into this Harbour was difficult and dangerous by reaſon of Rocks that lay near the middle of the Channell, But it was the more difficult and hard getting out of it, by reaſon of the winds blowing right into it through the whole dry ſeaſon. The neck or Peninſula of Land, which made the Bay, was but narrow, about a mile over, where broadeſt, And at the head of the Bay far narrower, ſcarſe half a mile over, And it is about three miles in length: This neck of Land is from end to end, generally all hilly and very irregular ground. The Hills here, as well as the Valleys, are all covered with tall and thick Woods, and ſome of them are clayie ground even to the Top, and afford free ſtone.

The Situation of *Caledonia Harbour* aud Coaſt Adjacent, is much according to this Draught.

See

See the Following MAPP of this NECK and Harbour, with a Plenary Explication thereof.

a shows the Isle of Pines
b Golden Island.
c where the Spanish Fleet did rid.
d Brandies Bay.
e Acla the Greater.
h CALEDONIA Harbour and Road.
i The Look out.
k Mountains and Woods.
l Rocks.
m The Plantan Tree.
n The Narrow Neck.
o The Orange Grove
p Indian Habitations.
r Litle Islands and Rocks.
s Indian dwellings.
t Acla the Lesser.
v Mountains and Woods.
w The watering place.
u The Maccaw-Tree, full of prickles
x The Orange-Tree.
y The Fort.
z The Cockernut-Tree.
1 The wild Cabage-Tree.
C Caret-Bay river and Indians dwelling Westward
R About this Bay, the Spaniards landed men against us.

N North.
S South.
E East.
W West.

a
b
c
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N
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Westward from our Fort about eight miles, by the Banks of the Rivers of Acla the greater and Acla the lesser, over against Prandies Bay, there is a pleasant Tract of plain ground, and among the Woods hereabout, are many Orange Trees to be found, from which our Men used to fetch Oranges, while we abode in *Caledonia*.

The watering place belonging to our Fort, was but a small Rivulet, and almost half a mile distant therefrom, which was a great disadvantage to our men in this Place, especially when the *Spaniards* by Land approached our Fort, and intercepted our Watering place from us, for any Water which they could dig for within the Fort, was but Brackish and Unwholsome.

It is pretty remarkable that the Trade Winds have not their due & ordinary Course upon this Coast of *Darien*, as they have in the other Southern Coasts of *America*, for wheras upon other Coasts, and even some leagues to the Northward of *Darien*, the True Trade wind blows ordinarly about East, here in *Darien*, the wind is variable, sometimes at North, and sometimes at North-West, and in the wet time often at South & South-East, the reason seems to be, because this Coast lyes toward the Entrance of a deep Bay, and because of the high Mountains on the sides therof, which may possibly marr the course of the true Trade Wind. And on this account also it is that our Harbour of *Caledonia* was none of the most Commodious, for Ships could easilie get into it, but not so easilie get out again, because in the dry time, the wind here is ordinarly about North and so blows right into the Harbour, so that Ships especialy of a greater Bulk, can hardly then get out. This; that French Ship that came into this Harbour, in the time of the first Coiony, found to her cost. when endeavouring to get out, she was forced upon the Rocks on the West side

ſide of this Bay, and broken to pieces, & ſeverall of her men loſt.

The different ſeaſons of the year in this place, are the wet time and dry: The wet or rainy ſeason begins ordinarly about the latter end of *March*, or begining of *Aprile*, and continues till the latter end of *November*, The Rains here are ſomtimes very heavy and laſt ſeverall days together, being accompanyed with much Thunder and Lightning: This wet ſeaſon is the moſt ſickly time of the year, which is probably cauſed through the great ſtillneſs and calmneſs of the Air in this time; whence proceed ſulphureous damps and vapours, ariſing from the Mariſh and Drowned ground, which render it very unhealthy eſpecially to Strangers.

The Dry ſeaſon of the year begins with *December*, and laſts till about the latter end of *March*, then Rain is ſeldom, eſpecialy near the ſhoar, and the ground parched and dry. Then are cool, freſh breezes of Wind from North and Northweſt, which diſpell theſe noiſome vapours, purge the Air, and render it more healthy, then the wett time: during this ſeaſon the Heat is pretty moderate and tolerable, which may be further occaſioned, becauſe the Sky in this Countrey is Cloudy, for the greater part of the Year, even in this Dry Time wherby the hot Reflections of the Sun are much allayed and abated. The beſt time to plant here is toward the latter end of the wett time when the rains begin to decreaſe, and then follows their Harveſt in the dry time, eſpecialy of their Indian Corn.

The *Indians* who are the Natives of this place, are a poor naked people, contented with their ſtate, and ſeldom thoughtful for to morrow, as the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian *Peter Martyr* obſerveth of them in his De

cads

cads pag. 254. That they want our wanton Superfluities, not having *Arabian* Odours, Perfumes & strange Spices, contenting themselves with such things as naturally grow in their Countrey, they live more cheerfully in better health, & are more lusty & strong in their old Age, They have small care to please their Appetit with divers and sundry daintie Meats, a litle sufficeth them [natura paucis contenta] & indeed there is no want in the want of superfluities, They appear not to be numerous in this Countrey, they are of a middle stature inclining to the less, especialy their Women, & not so tall, lusty and numerous, as the Indians are, in other places of South *America*. There were no *Indians* dwelling upon that neck of Land where our people settled, but about seven or eight miles distant thence to the westward, there are several Villages of *Indians* by the brooks of *Acla* the greater & the less, as are also to the South-east of our fort by *Caret*-Bay River: For generally the Indians dwell by the sides of Rivers, & use often to wash themselves therin both Men and Women old & young which they ordinarly practise both morning and evening: Being generally all both old and young very good swimmers. They seem to be a pretty cleanly People both in their bodies, and in dressing and eating their food, washing before they eat, though withall they feed after a homely manner, in eating their slabbery Meat with their bare fingers, without spoons; their Weapons are Bows & Arrows & wooden swords. They Practise polygamy, especialy their chief men, who have some of them two or three Wives together, their Women are but of little stature & marry very young, when about twelve years of age, as it is also the custom of the *Indians* to do, in other parts of *America*. Their language is a sort of gutturall speech, & difficult for

strangers

Strangers to pronounce. Their Houſes are but mean, built of Timber, all open by the ſides & ends, & only covered on the Roof with Plantane Leaves. which are broad & long, to defend them from the Sun and Rain. Their Beds are Hammocks hung up by the two ends, which they make themſelves of Cotton wool, that grows in plenty here, when they go to ſleep by night, they have commonly a fire by them which is uſefull both to keep of wild beaſts from them, & to drive away hurtfull damps

They are naturally a very ſlothfull People & labour but little, they ſubdue & plant but ſmall parcells of land, ſo much as ſerves their preſent neceſſitie, ſo that their Habitations are but little open ſpaces cleared, in the midſt of vaſt, thick, tall & ſolitary Woods, which like a high wall encompaſſeth them round about; That juſtly they may be compared unto an Owl in the Deſart, and the Pelican of the wilderneſs, that do not ſee when good cometh, they do indeed inhabit the dark Places of the Earth, on more accounts then one: The main things which they plant & live upon, are Plantanes wherof they make drink as weel as food, Bananos, Caſſavie roots, Indian Corn, Potatos, Yams, *&c.* The men are much given to hunting & fiſhing, wherby they purchaſe a good part of their food, their wives perform the moſt part of their drugery work in planting, bringing home their proviſions & dreſſing their food. They have our ſort of Dunghill fowls about their houſes. Some of the *Indians* wear bits of Gold hung at their Noſes, beaten into thin Plates, and Ear rings of Gold. In generall they ſeem to be a pretty modeſt ſort of people, conſidering them as wild Pagans, and are for the moſt part of them, better affected to any other Nation of *Europeans*, then to the *Spaniards*.

We could not obſerve that they had any Religious Worſhip among them, but if they worſhip any

thing, it is the Devil, whose Vassalls and slaves they are, for they have among them Sorcerers and Conjurers, who in some parts of *America* are called *Powowes*, these they ordinarly use to consult, in their weighty and difficult cases, as for instance, if they be sick, if they be going to war against their Enemies, if they would know the success of future Events. *&c.* And indeed sometimes the Devil gives them Responses, which fall out accordingly: Wherof we had an experiment, while we were in *Caledonia*, for some of them told us that so many ships should come into our Harbour, and afterwards we should be gone for *Jamaica*, which came to pass accordingly.

Their manner of smoaking Tobacco is pretty odd, they make no use of Pipes, but take the Tobacco in leaves, and roll up a long twist therof about an ell long, leaving it hallow in the middle, and making it smaller at one end then the other, then when they desire to kindle this Roll, they sit round about a dozen of them in a Ring, this Roll is fired at one end, the other end they put in to their mouths, and so draw the smoak, and this Roll they hand about from one to another and when their mouths are full of smoak, they blow it into one anothers Faces, going thus round the whole Company.

As to What concerns the fruits and products of this Countrey, there is little more can be said therof, then what is common to the other West Indie Plantations in *America*, for here are to be found, Indian Corn, Plantanes, Bananas, Yams, Potatos, Cassavie roots, wherof they make very wholsome bread, and yet, which, is strange, the juyce of this Root when raw, is rank Poyson, but take it and boyl it, it becomes wholsome for Use: and severall other Roots usefull for food, here also are good strong Sugar Canes, Cotton wooll-Trees, Pepper-trees such as are common to the West Indies, Raccow or

Nottr-

Notta-trees, the fruit wherof is good for dying Red, here are very good Pine-Apples, reckoned the moſt delicate fruit of the Indies, and very good Melons with Oranges alſo in ſome places, and Cocker-Nutt-Trees, Lime Trees alſo.

As for the wild Product of thisCountrey, there is a great Variety of Trees and Shrubs, many more then *Europeans* know the Names of, among which there are Cedar trees, Locuſt and Bullet-trees, wild Cotton-trees of a vaſt bigneſs. Cabage-trees, Palmeto-trees, Maccaw-trees full of ſharp prickles like needles, Mangrove-trees that grow by the ſhoar, and in the Water, as well as out of it, with a vaſt number more, where it may be obſerved that generally all the Fruits, Trees and Plants of the Weſt-Indies, are of a quite different ſpecies, from ours, in theſe colder *European* Climates; it is obſervable alſo that much of their Wood in the Weſt Indies, is ſo hard and heavy, that it ſinks in the Water like a ſtone, Strangers to thoſe parts of the World may learn here alſo, that theſe Southern parts of the World enjoy a continuall Summer, the Woods and Trees are always green, for as ſome leaves drop off, others are growing on, there is little Variation betwixt the length of Days and Nights, but are almoſt of an equal length all the Year long, and of ſome fruits, they reap two Crops in the Year.

Concerning the Beſtialls of this Countrey, there is a great Variety. Here are to be found many wild Hogs and Deer in the Woods, many Monkies, Marmoſits, and Baboons, here are alſo Tigers, here is a Beaſt called an Ant Bear, becauſe it feeds allanerly upon Ants which it doth by ſhooting forth its long Tongue upon an Ant Hill, and when the Ants have creept in full number upon it, this Creature pulls in its Tongue covered with Ants, and ſo it lives. Here alſo is

a remarkable Creature called by the *English* a Sloath, by the *Spaniards* Pigritia, ſo named juſtly from the Dull ſluggiſh nature of it, being of a very ſlow motion, it is ſomwhat ſhaped like a Cat, but of a larger body, and hath very long claws, is a great ſleeper, and even when it moves looks drowſie like as if it were half ſleeping. Here are alſo a great many troubleſome Inſects, eſpecially the Countrey is full of Ants, wood-lice and muskeras, and which are common through the Weſt Indies.

Here alſo is great variety of Fowls, particularly numerous flocks of Parrots and Parakits and Macas, alſo many ſorts of Sea-fowls, particularly a large Fowl called a Pelican.

There is here alſo in the waters both ſalt and freſh, great variety and plenty of Fiſh, our Men caught ſome of them, and they found them to be ſweeter and fatter than ours at home: Here is a large Creature in the waters called a manatee, and by ſome a Sea-Cow, becauſe its head ſomewhat reſembles that Creature, it is of vaſt bigneſs, and good for food. Here alſo near Golden iſland are many Sea Tortoiſes to be caught: This is a kind of amphibious Creature, living both in the water and on the Land. They catch them in the Sea with nets, and at ſome ſeaſons they come a ſhoar on ſandy Bays to lay their Eggs, whereof they lay near a buſhell, and then cover them in a hole which they dig in the ſand, leaving them there to be hatched by the heat of the Sun, at theſe Times Men watch them, and turn them upon their Backs, and then they cannot recover themſelves again, theſe Tortoiſes are very wholſome Food, and contain ſeverall ſorts of meat in them, the Seamen ſay they have three Hearts, ſome of them are ſo large, as to ſuffice thirty or fourty men to Dine upon. There is alſo here to be found another ſort of thoſe Creatures, called Land

Tortoiſe,

Tortoiſe, becauſe they live moſtly upon the Land, but re not ſo large as the ſea ones theſe Tortoiſes are in hape ſomewhat reſembling a Frog,

As concerning Gold mines in this Countrey, our peo- le of the laſt Colony did not diſcover any upon this pot, during their abode here, and I have heard from an ld underſtanding Indian Captain *Pedro*, that he knew f none in that place where the *Scots* were, but that the Gold mines, were nearer the South-Sea, toward *Santta Maria*, and further up the Gulph of *Darien*.

Some may Queſtion whether this place of the *Scots* ettlement be a healthy Countrey yea or not, ſo that n European *Colony* could thrive in it upon this ſcore, n anſwer whereunto it may be remarked

1 That our Countrey men who went thither firſt o ſettle, though for ſome time after their Arrival there, hey were pretty healthy, yet afterwards proved very ickly, and many of them died.

2 Our People who went thither about a year after, vere generally very ſickly through the whole time of heir abode there, and it proved a grave to many of hem, and that even in the dry and healthieſt time of he year.

3 They ſay that in the wett time here, even the *ndians* themſelves are ſickly and keep their houſes: nd they being a people but few in number; and heir wives not having many children, ſeems to be an ndication that this is none of the healthieſt Climate.

4 When the *Spaniards* came againſt us, in *March* 700. they all gave it the Character of a very ſickly lace, and manifeſted no deſire to ſtay there.

5 After that we had left that place, and the *Spa- iards* had taken poſſeſſion of it, in a ſhort time, they lſo became very ſickly, and buried many of their

men there, as I learned by a *Jamaica* sloop, that had come from thence, while our ships were lying at *Jamaica*,

6 *Nombre de Dios & Portobel* upon the same *American Isthmus* are both very sickly places, therefore the *Spaniards* deserted *Nombre de Dios*, and at *Portobel* they have but a few inhabitants, mainly for the sake of the Garrison there, to defend their Treasure transported thither from *Panama*, so that meer necessity obligeth them to keep it.

7 I have heard this place, even by old Privateers themselves reputed a very sickly place, and that when they heard of our settling there, they feared we should not thrive in that place.

8 When our People were there last, we had this Experience of it, that so long as our men lodged a board the ships, they were more healthy, but assoon as they came a shoar, and took up their abode in their Hutts, they became sickly, and grew daily weaker

9 *Ogilbie* in his History of *America* page 399. says of *Darien* that though it be of a far more temperate Air than *Panama*, yet it is much infested by the unwholsomness of the Air, through the many stinking damps, that arise from the muddy Pools, and the inhabitants are sickly, and never attain to a great Age.

10 *Collier* in his historical Dictionary says of *Darien*, that by Reason of the excessive Rains and unwholsome Air, it is not habitable.

11 But let us hear the Testimony of a more Ancient *Author*, that wrote near two hundred Years agoe, even in the Year 1514. That is *Peter Martyr* in his *Decads* of the first Plantations of the *Spaniards* in *America* Chap, 9. P. 222. He saith that upon the *North* Shoar of that *American* Isthmus, the *Spaniards* have three Colonies

lonies, *Sancta Maria antiqua* upon the River *Darien*, and ſecond *Acla* ſeated more weſterly, and third *Nombre de Dios*, to the Weſt-ward of the former (But all theſe three are long ſince deſerted by the *Spaniards*)

P. 127, 128. He ſays of *Darien*, that the Air is more peſtiferous then in *Sardis*, the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants are all pale and yellow, like them that have the yellow Jaundiſe, which Temper of Air ſaith he, cometh not ſo much from the Places lying near the *Equinoctial Line*, as from the particular Poſition of this Place, and the Nature of the Soil: It being ſituate in a deep Valley, and environed with Hills on every Side. And further alſo the Nature of the Soil here, being compaſſed about with muddie and ſtinking Mariſhes, the Infection whereof is much increaſed by the Heat, their Habitation therefore in *Darien*, is pernicious, unwholſome, and outragious.

Again P. 63. He ſaith of *Darien*, that it was reported, that the Air is there unwholſome, becauſe that Part of the Region, lieth in a low Valley, environed with Mountains and Mariſhes. *thus far Peter Martyr.*

Another Reaſon of the Unwholeſomneſs of this Place may be, becauſe as was noted above, this Countrey lying in a Bay, and being ſo environed with Mountains, the true Trade-Winds, have not their free Courſe here, and further in the wett Time here, it is often quite calm, and then the Air is moſt infectious.

So that it ſeems it may be ſaid of *Darien*, thou Land devoureſt Men, and eateſt up thy Inhabitants. No wonder then though our Colonie neither did, nor could thrive there, ſuppoſe no other Enemy in the World had moleſted them.

This preceeding Account of the Natives, Animals, Fruits and Products of this Climat, the Author is the better

better capable and able to give, becauſe he did formerly ſojourn for ſeveral Years in the *Southern* Parts of *America*, even in a Countrey nearer the *Equinoctial Line* then *Caledonia* in *America* is, *viz.* In the River of *Surrinam*, on the Coaſt of *Guiana* Lat. 5. deg. 10. Min.

The firſt Arrivall of the *Scots* at *DARIEN* with a Colony was about *November* 2. 1698, they had about twelve hundred Men aboard, they had continued for ſome Time upon the Place, before they fixed upon the particular Spott where to ſettle and build their Fort: At length they concluded to ſettle and fortifie themſelves upon that Corner of the Neck of Land that faceth nigheſt to the Entry into this Road and Harbour, and called it Fort St. *Andrew*: And then becauſe they were alarmed with Reports about the *Spaniards* Preparations againſt them they wrought the poor Men very hard, on the Lords Days, as well as other Days.

Somtime after their Arrivall here, there was a *French* Ship which came into their Harbour, after ſome Stay here, the ſaid Ship endeavouring to get out again to Sea, was through the Croſſnes of the Wind driven aſhoar upon the Rocks on the Weſt-ſide of this Bay, the Ship ſtaved to Pieces, and ſeveral of the Men were loſt, this Ship had aboard of her ſome Money and Plate, concerning which I have heard ſome ſay, that were then upon the Place, that ſome of the chief of the *Caledonian* Officers, made their own Gain, by what they could ſearch out of the ſd. Wrack, after the ſurviving *French* were gone hence, and that this Wealth which ſome of them acquired by this means had evil effects upon the after Succeſs and Continuance of the *Colony* in this place.

Among

Among other things that contributed to the Ill succeſs of this *Colony*, this ſeems to have been one, that the Government thereof was put into the hands of many and not mainly entruſted with one eminent and well Qualified Perſon, accordingly the evil effects hereof ſoon began to appear in this Infant *Colony*, for an evil Spirit of Diviſion ſoon broke out among their Counſellors and leading men, *Quot Capita tot Sententiæ*. This cauſed Jarrings, Diviſions, Bitterneſs and Miſunderſtandings among them: So within a While, ſome of their Counſellors being uneaſie, went off and left the Place: And a ſelfiſh and private Spirit and Intereſt prevailing among them that were left behind, beyond a generous minding of the publick Good, all Things ſoon began to have an evil Aſpect with Reference to the continued Settlement and Proſperity of this Deſign.

What other moſt remarkable Occurrences did attend them while they continued in this Place, and as we learned them from theſe who were then upon the Place, were as followeth.

Soon after their Arrival, the chief Indians here being friendly to them, welcomed them to ſettle in their Countrey, and conſented to a Grant unto them of that Place and Lands adjacent, our Counſellors ſatisfying them therefore to their full Content.

Captain *Pincarton* in the leaſt of their Veſſells, with about thirty Men aboard, going along the Coaſt toward ſome of the windward Iſlands, ſtruck his Veſſell upon ſome Rocks not far from *Carthagena*, whereby ſhe became ſo leaky, that they were forced to run into *Carthagena*, to ſave their Lives, where they were made Priſoners by the *Spaniards*, and had their Veſſel ſeized: Some of thoſe Men were afterward releaſed, upon the Capitulation made with the *Spaniards* on *March* 31

1700

1700. They had one ſmall Skirmiſh with ſome *Spaniards* that came down near their Vicinity, either to ſpy their Condition and Strength, or to ſee if they could apprehend any of their Straglers in the Woods, or to entice the *Indians* to forſake our Men: Our Counſellors being informed of this by their friendly neighbouring *Indians*, ſent forth about a hundred and fifty Men againſt them, under the Command of Captain *Montgomery* and when our Men had come near the Place where they darkned themſelves in the thick Woods, two *Spaniards* in Company with our Men, Whom they had before apprehended, being of the ſame Party, and knowing where their Countrey-Men lay hid, gave a Shout, whereupon the *Spaniards* preſently fired upon our Men, killed about two, and wounded fourteen of them, the *Spaniards* preſently retiring, ſo that our Men never got ſight of them, becauſe of the Thickets of Woods, though our Men alſo fired toward them, but could not tell what Dammage their Fire had done upon them. Some Days after our Men apprehended one of their Officers, and having kept him ſome Days Priſoner, did afterwards let him go Home, accompanyed with ſome of our Men, to keep him from Harm by our *Indian* Friends, but our Men that conveyed him were never more heard of.

They were exerciſed with ſore ſickneſs and Mortality among their Men, after they had been ſome Time upon the Place, they had about ſeventy Men that died by the Way, in their Voyage hither, but they ſay they buried near three hundred Men during their ſtay here.

They had taken and made Prize of ſome Periagos with *Indian* Corn, from the *Spaniards* upon this Coaſt, which

which proved afterwards of good Uſe to them, when they were in Strait upon their Voyage hence.

All the Time of their Abode here, which was upwards of ſeven Months, they ſay they had never ſo much as one Letter or Veſſel from *Scotland*, which was a great Diſcouragement to them, and no good Politick in our Directors at Home: And it was an awfull Frown upon this Deſign, the Shipwrack of that Veſſel, which was ſent from *Clyde*, about *January* 1699. in Order to go for the Colony and it's miſcarrying in the Undertaking.

They had two Miniſters ſent along with them, *viz* Mr *James* and Mr *Scot*. But as they had ſmall Comfort among them, while they were in their Company, ſo it pleaſed the Lord ſoon to remove them from among thoſe that deſpiſed them and their Work, for Mr *James* died at Sea before their Arrivall, and Mr *Scot* died ſhortly after their Arrivall.

On the 20 Day of *June*. 1699. they all diſlodged, and left *Darien*: Concerning the Cauſes of their deſerting this Place, we heard various Reports: I heard by one of their Counſellors Captain *Thomas Drummond*, that it was becauſe of the great Sickneſs, and Mortality that raged among their Men, whereby they were brought ſo low, that they had Difficulty to find Men able to ſtand Centry and keep the Watch, and therefore were far more unable to reſiſt the *Spaniards*, with the Fears of whom they were daily alarmed by the *Indians*. Others again ſaid that it was Scarcity and Want of Proviſions, and that the King's Proclamation prohibiting Trade with them from any of the *Engliſh* Plantations, did much diſcourage them, and had a Hand in their deſerting the Place, Others I have heard ſay that they were deſigned to leave the Place, before ever

they

they hear tell of the Proclamations. Again I have heard others confidently relate, that the privat Gain which some of their leading Men had made to themselves, out of the *French* Wrack above mentioned, had evil Influences upon them, in making them preferr their privat Ends before the publick Cause they were engadged in, seeing they had now acquired some Wealth to themselves, they were not willing to adventure themselves any longer in such uncomfortable Circumstances in this Wilderness, but made what Dispatch they could to get out of this Spot, to a Place of more comfortable Accommodations, where they might spend and enjoy the Comfort of their new gotten Wealth.

It was also of evil consequence to this settlement, that their Counsellors and cheif men did not well accord among themselves, besides some of the best of them had gone off before, so that those who remained behind, had the more advantage and liberty now to play their own game, and they had the greater pretence also thus to do having been so long in *Caledonia*, and yet never gott any advice, nor supply from *Scotland*.

Which of all these forementioned Causes alledged of the Desertion of *Caledonia*, was the true and main one or whether there was not a Concurrence of several of them: Or whether there might not be some other more hidden Springs and secreet Causes thereof, I shall not take upon me to determine: But thus it came to pass that *Caledonia* was forsaken, and the vast Expences hitherto bestowed upon that Design, were mostly lost and came to nothing, and this Desertion did lay the ground of the miscarrying and defeating of whatever following Recruits and Supplies, The Company of *Scotland* sent unto this Place. So great is the uncerainty and vanity of all humane Affairs, and the most promising like Designs of the Children of men.

Sic transit gloria Mundi.

When they took farewell and sailed from *Darien*, they ere in all four ships together, viz. the *Caledonia*, the . *Andrew* the *Unicorn* and a *Pink*, But being once t out to sea, they never endeavoured to keep com- ny, but every one made the best of his way, steer- g different Courses, and so soon lost sight of one a- ther. The *Pink* turned very leaky at sea, so that the amen were obliged to leave her, and come aboard of other of their ships yet in their company, so this ship as left to founder in the Sea.

The St. *Andrew* (Captain *Penny-cook* her Command- died at Sea) had a long and dangerous passage, and length got unto *Jamaica*, having buried by the way ove 100. of their men. They came to an Anchor t at *Blewfields* in *Jamaica*, and there were so weak d disabled, that they were necessitated to hire Sea- en off the sd. Island, to bring her up to *Port-Royal* har- ur in *Jamaica*, and there she remains in a ruinous and racklike condition. The *Caledonia* and *Unicorn* both got e to *New-york*, after a tedious and difficult passage, they t at sea about 300. Men. But those of them that sur- ved thither, many of them recovered their health, it ing a healthy Climate, far preferable to *Jamaica*, where- the poor men that went to *Jamaica* faired much worse ny of them dying there. The *Unicorn* lies still near *New k* in a ruinous condition: But the *Caledonia* at length ith the help of the *Unicorns* Men, got safely home to *tland*, as we understood afterwards. This was the prosperous fate of these ships and company concerned erein, but the fatalities attending this design of *Ca- lonia*, did not here end, as sad yea worse Misfortunes llowed them that come after.

Caledonia being thus deserted and left to her former solations, it was about 8. Weeks after, when there ar-

rived

rived two ſhips from *Scotland* upon the place thus for
ſaken, with Recruits of men and Proviſions for the C
lony, which were Capt. *Jamiſon* and Capt. *Stark*. Bu
alas their Arrival was now too late, for the birds wer
flown, and the Neſt left bare, The Company migh
now find, the old Proverb verified *Sero ſapiunt Phryge*
Had this Recruit and ſupply come ſooner the Colon
might have ſtood: But the Counſell of the Lord mu
ſtand, Men propoſe but God diſpoſeth. Theſe tw
ſhips brought over about 300. Men, they loſt few me
by ſea, but when they came upon the place, and foun
it deſolate, it was a ſad ſurprize unto them, and put then
to a ſtand, they were in doubtfull ſuſpence what to re
ſolve upon. But within a few days after their Arriv
al, Divine Providence frowned upon them, by a ſad
Diſaſter. Capt. *Jamiſons* ſhip being loadned with Pro
viſions and Brandie while ſome were drawing Brandi
in the Hould of the ſhip, having a lighted candle with
them, accidentally the fire of the Candle catched hol
of the Brandie, which forthwith flamed ſo terribly, tha
it ſet the ſhip on fire, and in a little time deſtroie
both ſhip and Proviſions. The wrack of this ſhip is ye
to be ſeen in *Caledonia* harbour.

This fatal Accident having befallen this poor Company,
they were now rendred incapable to ſtay in this place,
their proviſions having been moſtly aboard of *Jamiſons*
ſhip, which were now all loſt, this is now another aw-
full rebuke upon this deſign and Company concerned:
Soon after this they reſolved to be gone from this place
and in order hereunto ſhipped themſelves aboard of Cap.
Starks ſhip: Only there were about 6 Men of them ſo re-
ſolute and ſtout that they would tarry behind upon
the place, and wait till the *Riſing-Suns* Party ſhould come
hither, the Capt. therefore left ſome Proviſions with
them, and they went and lived among the *Indians*, and

upon

our Arrival with the *Rising-Sun*, we found moſt
hem alive.

hen this Company had gott ready to ſail, they ſteer-
vay for *Jamaica*, they buried but few men during
ſhort ſtay in *Caledonia*, but after their Arrivall at
ca, a great mortality befell them, and as they re-
d the greateſt part of them died there.

ch ſad Calamities and ruining Diſaſters, befell this
n of *Caledonia* hitherto, and the poor people that
emploied therein, concerning whom it may be
truely and ſadly affirmed, that for the greater part
em, they were men ſadly immoral and profane
did not honour God, and God did not honour
; They were a ſad Reproach to the Nation from
h they were ſent, and God made moſt of them
ll in the Wilderneſs and in the ſea, ſo that as to
foremention'd Companies, and the other alſo that
after them, it may be truly ſaid, *Veſtigia pauca re-
m.* Few of them lived to return to ſee their Na-
Countrey.

fore we proceed to the *Riſing-Suns* Party and Pro-
nces that did attend them, it will be worth our while
mark here, this obſervable Series of Frowning and
ling Diſappoinments, that followed upon this Deſign
undertaking. That after our Company of *Scotland*
ſent forth their firſt Colony in order to ſettle upon
en: Whatever Recruits and ſupplies of men and
iſions were ſent out of *Scotland* afterwards for this
, ſtill the former were gone from the place, before
atter were come up, or elſe the ſupplies miſcarried
e way, or came too late, for, 1 that ſhip ſent from
e with Proviſions, deſigning for the *Colony*, was caſt
and failed in the undertaking, 2. When the
lony had diſlodged and left the place being upon the
ſome of them met with a *New-England* ſhip com

i

ing with provisions for their *Colony*, but it was t
too late. 3. When *Jamison's* and *Starke's* ships arri
upon the place with men and Provisions, they fou
Caledonia deserted, and the *Colony* gone they knew
whether, 4. When the *Rising Sun* and her Compa
came up, they found both the first *Colony* and *Jamison*
Starks Party, removed and gone, and they never kn
of it, untill they got thither. 5. When Capt. *B*
with a small Vessel arrived there from *Scotland* thou
they found the *Rising Suns* Party upon the place, yet
Capitulation with the *Spaniards*, was concluded near t
days before his Arrival. 6. When Cap. *Mc dowall* in a s
from *Dundee* had come to *Caledonia*, with Provisio
he found the place possessed by the *Spaniards* our men be
removed to *Jamaica*: From such an observable succe
sion of counteracting Providences in this Design, w
cannot but remark and see a holy and Sovereign G
signally appearing and fighting against this underta
ing, as if men should say, this Design shall succe
and God say it shall not prosper, though ye should ta
Counsell together, it shall come to nought, for the
is no wisdom, nor understanding nor Counsell again
the Lord *Prov.* 21 30 *Isa.* 8 9 10. But this may
sadly lamented among our People concerned in th
Undertaking, that as to most of them. that word ma
be too truly applied, *Lord when thy hand is lifted*
they will not see it. *Isa.* 26 11 And how few among
will hear and attend to this *Isa.* 42 24 25 *Who ga*
Jacob to the spoil and Israel to the Robbers, did not the Lor
He against whom we have sinned, for they would not hav
en to his voice, nor walk in his ways, therefore he hath powe
ed the fury of his Anger upon us, and yet we have not regi
ly observed it, nor laid it to heart.

Th

The next Adventurers for *Caledonia* were the *Rising-* and her Party, who had no better Succeſs in their pedition then their Countrey-Men who went before m: They were in all four Ships, the *Rising-Sun* ptain *Gibſon* Commander, the *Companies Hope* Cap- *Miller* Commander, the *Hamilton* Captain *Duncan* nmander and the *Hope of Burrowſtoneſs* Captain *ling* Commander, They had in all about 1200 Men ard their ſeverall Bottoms, having got all ready to it was a conſiderable Time before they could get of *Clyde*, the Winds being contrary, and bearing. n back ſeverall Times, when they endeavoured to out, the *Rising-Sun* was once in Danger here by e, but it was timely diſcovered and extinguiſhed vidence ſeemed to frown upon our Beginings and nteract our Motion. At length the Wind preſen- fair, we all ſet Sail togeather from *Rotheſay* in *Boot*, *September* 24. 1699, bieng the Lords Day. We red our Courſe between *England* and *Ireland*, along *Georges* Channel, the Wind not ſerving us to ſail by *North of Ireland*. We had a favourable Paſſage as Winds and Weather, but were exerciſed with ſore waſting Sickneſs among our Men, during the whole yage. It was on *November* 9. that we firſt diſcove- Land, which was the Iſland of *Antego* about the itude of 16 Degrees and 30 Minuts, about two urs after we came up with the Iſland *Montſerat* ich is hilly and rocky. Before this Iſland our Ships od too and again for ſome Hours, the *Rising-Sun* ing ſent her Long-boat aſhoar, for Water and freſh viſions, and for Inteligence: But the Governour *Montſerat* was ſo inhumane, that he denyed us the erty of having any Water or Proviſions there, pre- ding his Orders from the Court of *England* for ſo doing

doing. Here our Counſellors heard ſome flying R
ports about the Deſertion of our Colony, but th
would not believe it. So after cold Comfort at *Mo*
ſerat, we ſtood on in our Voyage for *Caledonia*, a
though one of our Ships the *Companys Hope*, [aboard
which the Author of theſe *Memoirs* ſailed] did t
Night loſe Company of the reſt of our Fleet, and ſail
alone for fourteen Days together, yet at length throu
the good Providence of *GOD*, we all arrived ſaf
together upon this Coaſt of *Darien*, hard by *Golden-iſlan*
which the *Spaniards* call *Iſle-Gorda*, from the Figure
it reſembling a Gourd, and on *November* 30. All o
four Ships in Company, got ſafely into *Caledonia* Ha
bour, which lyeth about *South-eaſt* from *Golden-iſlan*
and diſtant thence about three Leagues.

We buried many of our Men by Sea, Officers an
Gentlemen as well as others, from *Rotheſay* in *Boot* u
till we arrived at this Port about 160 Perſons, and a
mong others there died at Sea one of our Miniſte
Mr *Alexander Dalgliesh*, a pious and faithfull Ma
much lamented by thoſe that knew him, leaving
ſorrowfull Widow with Child behind him, he die
betwixt *Montſerat* and *Darien*.

Upon our Arrival at this new World, we me
with a ſorrowfull and cruſhing like Diſappointment
for expecting here to meet with our Friends and Coun
try-men, we found nothing but a waſt howling Wil
derneſs, the Colony deſerted and gone, their Hutt
all burnt, their Fort moſt Part ruined, the Ground
which they had cleared adjoining to the Fort, all over
grown with Shrubs and Weeds, we looked for Peace,
but no Good came, and for a Time of Health and
Comfort, but behold Trouble. Our Arrival at this
Place, was much like *David*'s coming with his little Ar-
my to *Ziklag* of old, where expecting to meet with
their

eir Friends and Relations in Peace, they found the own burnt and laid waſt, their Relations all gone they ew not whither, ſo that the People lift up their oice and wept ſore, 1 *Sam.* 30. Our Diſappoint-ent was like theirs in *Job* 6. 19, 20. *The Troops of Te-a looked, the Companies of Sheba waited for them, they ere confounded, becauſe they had hoped, they came thither d were aſhamed.* It was therefore no Wonder, that r People were ſadly diſcouraged upon their coming ther, and the rather becauſe they were ill fitted and rniſhed to begin a new Plantation, and had not Mate-alls ſuitable to ſuch a Deſign, which they expected to nd here before them. Our Party were not ſent forth ſettle a Colony, but only to be a Recruit and Supply a Colony, which we expected in ſome Meaſure al-ady ſettled and ſufficiently furniſhed with Tools and ſtruments for ſuch a Deſign. Only this ſmall Com-rt our Men found upon their Arrival here, that they und two ſmall Sloops with Proviſions lying in this arbour, who it ſeems had been expecting our Com-g. It was Captain *Thomas Drummond* from *New-rk*, who had been a Counſellor and main Man in the rſt Colony, and had gone off from this Place when ey all diſlodged together. The other was one Mr *alton* from *New-England*. By theſe we learned what ad become of our Colony, whether they were gone, nd how it had fared with them here.

Soon after our Arrival our principal Men called a Council conſiſting of our Counſellors and Officers, to onſider and determine what was fit to be done in our pre-ent ſad Circumſtances, whether they ſhould ſettle here r not, ſeeing that the firſt and main Colony was gone. When they were aſſembled, it was propoſed by one of he Officers that they ſhould call for one of the Mini-ters to pray for Direction from the Lord in this

weighty

weighty Matter, before they did proceed to vote But ſuch was their Religion that they ſlighted thi Motion as a Thing needleſs, when even a *Heathen* coul give better Advice, that in our Undertakings, thi Rule muſt be obſerved, *A Jove Principium*, much mor they that call themſelves Chriſtians, ſhould be bette inſtructed, to begin with GOD; and do Nothing with out asking his Leave and Direction. When they cam to a Vote it was carried in the Affirmative, that the ſhould ſettle, though ſome of the Councel were other ways inclined, and ſignified that conſidering our preſen Circumſtances, there was little Hope of doing any Goo here: Then they conſidered that ſeeing they had concluded to ſettle here, it ſeemed to be neceſſary t ſend off ſome of their Men to *Jamaica*, that ſo thei Number being fewer, their Proviſions might laſt th longer, till they might hear from *Scotland*, of the In tentions of the Company, whether they would proſecute this Deſign any further, ſeeing their firſt Colony, the main Strength of this Undertaking, had deſerted: So they agreed to ſend off to *Jamaica* with the two hired Ships Captain *Duncan* and Captain *Dalling*, about 300 of their Men, and to reſerve the Remainder of the Men here upon the Place. And further they concluded that the Men's daily Allowance of Proviſion, ſhould be diminiſhed, that ſo it might laſt the longer. This Me thod cauſed much grumbling and Diſcontent among many of the Men, and was likely to have produced dangerous Effects, as did ſhortly after ſadly appear.

The Councell having thus concluded, about a week af ter our arrival, there were ſome of the men put a ſhoar to work and clear the Ground, upon the ſame ſpot where our men had ſet down and raiſed their Fort before it being now all overgrown with Buſhes, for things in

this

his ſouthern Climate are of a ſpeedy grouth, and after hey had cleared the Ground, they began to cut down rees, for building hutts to themſelves to dwell in, hich they covered with wild plantane leaves which e broad and long, fit for ſuch a purpoſe, they made ſo ſome Reparations about the Fort, and built two ery good ware-houſes for their proviſions, for here is reat plenty of very good Timber, fit to build withal. The People that our Company of *Scotland* ſent over ther to their *New-Colony*, were moſt of them both amen and Landmen, Gentlemen and Officers as well the meaner ſort, none of the beſt ſort of Men: And erefore the Miniſters ſent along with them had but hall comfort in their Company, their Inſtructions and dmonitions were but little regarded by them, many them ſeldom and ſome of them never attending e publick Worſhip of God: Whence we may ſee hat ſort of Church they could ſet up in this place hen there was ſuch bad ſtuff to make it of.

About 14. Days after our arrival here, there were nine men belonging to the *Riſing-Sun*, that run away by ght with one of the Boats belonging to the ſaid ſhip, e underſtood afterwards that they had gone to *Porto-ll* among the *Spaniards*, and ſo betraied the Condition their poor Countrey-men in *Caledonia* to them. Our en did not purſue nor ſeek after them, being uncertain en, whether and what way they had fled.

About the middle of *December* there was hatched and ſcovered a Plot among ſome of our men, deſigning lay hold on the Counſellors, and ſeize ſome of the ips, in order to make their eſcape out of this place, hat incited them to this plot, was ſaid to be, their hear-g of the former Vote of the Councel, about ſending ſo many of the Men for *Jamaica*, and the ſhortning their daily allowance of Proviſion, this being diſco-

vered by the Confeſſions and accuſations of ſome tha
were upon the Plot or privy to it, there was one Ma
named *Alexander Campbell*, that was hereupon tried an
condemned by a Martial Court, and was executed withi
the Fort *Decemb.* 20. Some of the Miniſters dealt wit
our Counſellors, that they would not put him to death
but only baniſh him out of the Colony, but they woul
not yeild to it. This poor Man ſeemed to die very pe
nitently, confeſſing that upon his hearing of the forlai
Reſolution of the Councell he was tempted by the inſti
gation of others to contrive how to make his eſcap
hence, and to ſeize ſome of the Ships to that effect
He ſaid alſo that for ſometime before this particularly ſinc
God had recovered him from a late ſickneſs, he had lef
off prayer to the Lord, and therefore God now ha
juſtly left him to this ſad End.

The Churh of *Scotland* at home was not unconcerne
about the Spiritual good and Edification of ſuch conſide
rable numbers of their poor People who had been ſen
abroad upon this publick deſign: And therefore a
they had ſent two Miniſters along with the firſt Colony
ſo now the numbers of our Countrey-men ſent to the Co
lony being much increaſed, and particular applicatio
having been made by the Court of Directors to th
Commiſſion of the *General Aſſembly* of our Church, crav
ing that they would ſend Miniſters along with the Peo
ple going to their Colony, as well as for the the Inſtruct
ion and Edification of thoſe that were gone before, tha
thoſe afar off among *Pagans*, might not be left as ſhee
in a Wilderneſs without a ſhepherd, nor want the ligh
of the glorious Goſpel in theſe remote ends of the Earth
and alſo that the light of the Goſpel might ſhine in theſe
dark Regions where it did never yet ſhine, and if poſ
ſible, the poor Heathens might in time be brought to ſee
and walk in this Light. Therefore the Commiſſion o
the

the *General Assembly* did meet at *Glasgow* on *July* 19. 1699. And very cordially and zealously laid out themselves to promove and advance this so christian and noble a Design, they set a part a time for solemn prayers to the God of Heaven for Success to this great Work; Mr. *Meldrum* preached a Sermon very suitable to the Circumstances of those, who were now to be sent upon this Work, on *Heb* 11. 8. *By faith Abraham being called of God obeyed and went out, not knowing whether he went.* They drew up and caused to be printed an excellent Letter of christian Instructions & admonitions for the People of the Colony that were gone to *Caledonia*. They appointed and commissioned four Ministers now to go along with these who were to be sent and bond for the Colony: They drew up a Commission and Instructions for these Ministers who were appointed to go. And that the Reader may perceive the care and concern of the Church of *Scotland* for this new Colony, and see by what call and Warrant, these Ministers did go along with them. We shall here transcribe the written Commission given to the Ministers, by the Commission of the *General Assembly* abovementioned.

Copy of the *Commission* to the *Presbytery* of *Caledonia*. July 21. 1699.

We the *Commission* of the *Generall Assembly* of the Church of *Scotland*, taking to Consideration, That whereas the honourable Court of Directors of the *African* and *Indian* Company, did in Name and Behalf, and at the earnest Request of the Councel and Government of *Caledonia* in *America*, apply to the last Generall Assembly of this Church, beseeching that Ministers might

be ſent to the ſaid Colony for ſetling a Goſpel Miniſtry, and diſpenſing of Goſpel Ordinances, and that they might inſtruct and edifie our Countrey-men and others who ſhould from Time to Time, adjoyn themſelves to the ſaid Colony: And who alſo might through the Bleſſing of GOD be uſefull in propagating the glorious Light of the Goſpel among the *Pagan Natives*, and contribute to their Converſion. And the ſaid *Generall Aſſembly* having fully impowered and authorized this *Commiſſion* to take all effectual Methods for accompliſhing ſo good a Deſign. And the ſaid honourable Court of Directors, having particularly invited you Mr *Alexander Shields* Miniſter of the Goſpel at *Saint-Andrews*, and you Mr *Francis Borland* Miniſter of the Goſpel at *Glaſſoord*, And called you Mr *Alexander Dagleſh* and Mr *Archibald Stobo* Miniſters of the Goſpel, to be ſent to *Caledonia*, to labour in that pious, neceſſary and Glorious Work. In Order to your more clear, warrantable and comfortable proceeding in carrying on the ſame: We the ſaid *Commiſſion* do authorize, Impower and Require you, to repair to the ſaid Colony of *Caledonia*: And upon your Arrival, that you preſent *Our Letters to the Councel and Government, acquainting them with our tender Concern, and Care for them, which ſhall be continued*; And that upon Applications made in their Behalf to us. You are ſent as their Miniſters during your Abode among them, to take Charge of their Souls, To which you are hereby Authorized and Impowered by us: Recommending to you Faithfullneſs and Diligence in preaching the *Goſpel* and adminiſtring all other *Goſpel Ordinances*. And upon your firſt Arrival, with the Advice and Concurrence of the *Government*, Set apart a Day for *ſolemn publick Thankſgiving unto GOD* for Preſervation of the Colony, of the preſent Supplies and of your ſelves, for imploring his *Bleſſing and Conduct* in

in your enſuing Work. Afterward you ſhall conſtitute your ſelves a *PRESBYTERY*, by electing a *Moderator* and *Clark*, and begining your *Regiſter* with this *Commiſſion* now delivered unto you by us, and thenceforth orderly recording all your *Proceedings*. You ſhall thereafter with all convenient Speed, with the Concurrence of the *Government*, and the Conſent of the People ſo far as the ſame can be obtain'd, aſſociate unto your ſelves, by ſetting apart, according to the known Methods of the Church of *Scotland*, ſome of the fitteſt and moſt qualified Perſons, for *Piety*, *Prudence*, *Judicioufneſs* and *Reſpect* among the People, to be *ruling Elders*, *Overſeers* of the Manners of the People, and *Aſſiſtants* to you in the Exerciſe of *Diſcipline* and *Government*: By whoſe Aſſiſtance with Conſent of the *Councel*, you ſhall ſo ſoon as may be, divide the whole Inhabitants of the Colony, according to their local Reſidence, and the beſt Conveniency their preſent Circumſtances can admit, into ſo many *Diſtricts* or *Pariſhes*, that each Miniſter may have a particular Charge, under his more immediate and peculiar Inſpection: And then increaſe the Number of the *Elders*, and appoint *Deacons* of fit Perſons, yet ſo, as that you may all conſider your ſelves as in a *collegiat Relation* to the whole Colony, and labour therin, as ſhall be agreed among your ſelves in *Presbytery*. And we ſeriouſly recommend to you being thus conſtitute, That ſo ſoon as you find the Colony in Caſe for it: You do with the Concurrence of the *Councel*, aſſemble the whole Chriſtian Inhabitants, and keep a Day together in *Solemn Prayer* and *Faſting*, bewailing former Sins, renewing Baptiſmal Engadgments, and with the greateſt *Solemnity* and *Seriouſneſs*, *Avouching the LORD to be your GOD, and dedicating your ſelves and the Land unto the LORD*. And the People being divided into ſeveral *Diſtricts*, you ſhall thenceforth hold parochial *Seſſions*, and your *Dyets* of *Presbytery*, as often as the Exerciſe

cise of *Discipline* and *Order*, and the other Exigencies of the *Church* requires: And with christian Prudence, holy Zeal, ministerial Authority, Faithfulness and Diligence, in Dependance on your *Great Master*, you vigorously prosecute all the Ends of your Mission. Particularly that you labour among the *Natives* for their Instruction and Conversion, as you have Access. We further recommend to you, to be as useful and edifying as possible, unto the several Companies of the Ships, unto which you shall be disposed, during this Voyage, looking upon them as your particular Charge for the Time, whom you are to watch over in the *Lord*, as you can have Access. And we require, that after your Arrival, you be carefull by Letters, directed either to the *Moderator* of the *Commission* at *Edinburgh*, or to the *Principal* of the *Colledge* of *Glasgow*, or to the *Moderator* of the *Presbyteries* of *Edinburgh* or *Glasgow*: Frequently and fully to acquaint the *Church of Scotland*, with the whole State of your Affairs, and what you may need from them, from Time to Time: Wherin you are not to doubt of their cheerfull Forwardness to assist you, and that the *General Assembly* will lay down effectual Rules and Methods for your future Supply. And wheras some of you stand in a pastoral Relation to *Churches* in *Scotland*, and others not, yet all have a Liberty of returning, as likewise a Liberty to remain and labour in the *Lord*'s Work as fixed Ministers in the Colony, if your Health, Inclination and other Circumstances concurr: We therefore recommend if possible, before any of you come away, you endeavour to settle the *Church*, and that the Concerns of the *Gospel* be brought to some hopefull Pass. And we require that so soon as any of you determine to settle; your *Presbytery* send Advertisment, that their Charges if they have any, be provided with another

Minister:

Minister: And so soon as any of you resolve to come Home without returning, that timely Notice be given to this *Church*, to the End that others be provided to go in their Room: And that whoever comes from you, may bring either an Allowance or Commission from your *Presbytery*, as the Occasion of his coming shall be. Nor are you to doubt, but such as come from you, will be received as Members of the *General Assembly* of this *Church*, and of their *Commission*, for that Year in which they come. And finally we recommend to you, that whatever Discouragments you meet with (though we trust you shall be encouraged and strengthned in the *LORD*) that you give no Way to the dissolving of your *Presbytery*, but that so many of you stay, as to keep up the Face of a *Presbytery*, untill new Supplies be sent up unto you. And thus we commit you, and our *LORD*'s great and glorious Work in your Hands, unto his own powerfull, wise and gracious Conduct and Blessing. At *Glasgow July* 21. 1699. signed in the Name, and by the Appointment of the *Commission* of the *General Assembly*, and in their Presence by

George Hamiltoun Moderator.

John Banantyne Cler. Syn. Nat. and Com.

Of the four Ministers sent by our Church to this Colony, there was only three of them now alive, who while they were here, had their share of the publick discouragements and Calamities of the Company which they were among, and of the Briars and Thorns of the wilderness. They found themselves in ill Case to put in practice the Instructions which the Commission of the Church of *Scotland* had given them: The Circumstances of the Colony being quite altered from what was expected, when they were sent from *Scotland*. If it should be asked then, what did the Ministers sent to *Caledonia* in pursuance

ſuance of their Inſtructions abovementioned. We anſwer they followed and purſued their Inſtructions ſo far as the preſent Circumſtances of the poor Company, and place where they were, would permit: Beſides their Ordinary preaching to the People, on the Lords Days both while they were at ſea in their ſeveral ſhips, and after their Arrival both aboard the *Riſing-Sun* and alſo among the people aſhoar, by turns: What they could further attain to with the conſent of our Counſellors here, in a more publick and ſolemn way was, that on *January* 3. 1700. The Miniſters with the people here, kept a publick day of Thanksgiving, Humiliation, & Prayer to God, the preſent ſad aſpect of our Affairs was the Reaſon, why we joined altogether in one Day, for we had cauſe to rejoice with Trembling and Fears, (but as to the ſetting up a *Presbytry* here at this time, according to our Inſtructions, it was a buſineſs not now practicable nor expedient in our preſent broken and uncertain Circumſtances.) The cauſes of which Solemnity were drawn up by the Miniſters here, in a meeting which they had among themſelves on *December* 5 1699 and are as followeth.

Aboard the Ship the HOPE of *Borroughſtonneſs* December 5. 1699 at a Conference of the *Miniſters*.

The Miniſters ſent in Miſſion from the Church of *Scotland* to labour in the work of the Goſpel in this Colony, conferring together about the circumſtantiate Condition of the People recommended to their Inſpection, and the proper work which God may be calling them

to

, in such a time and case, considering the Mercies of od in bringing us to this place in safety, which call r our thankful Acknowledgments: The many gri- ous and hainous sins and abominations that have aboun- ed and still continue among us, which have procured nd extorted from the Just and Holy Lord, sad and se- re Rebukes, declaring his Anger gone forth against s: And how indispensably needful it is in such cir- mstances, we should solemnly humble our selves before e Lord, and Address his Throne for Mercy and grace help us in time of need. And finding it is seriously ecommended in their *Commission* and Instructions, by e *Commission* of the late *General Assembly*, that upon our st Arrival at this Port, assoon as may be convenient with the Advice and Concurrence of the Governme t Day be solemnly set apart for these Duties. Ha e erefore thought it a necessary and seasonable Duty, nd do humbly propose it to the Honourable Councel- rs of this Colony, as their earnest Desire, that the 3. ay of *January* next, be solemnly set a part for Thanks- ving, Humiliation and Prayer, and appointed to be eligiously observed for the Causes and to the Effects llowing.

1. To Acknowledge with all thankfulness the Mer- es of our Lord, in favouring us with a safe passage this place, protecting us from all Enemies and dan- ers by Sea, and notwithstanding the contagious sick- ss that raged among us so universally, preserving so any of us alive unto this Day.

2. To confess with shame and sorrow our own and e sins of others concerned in this undertaking, as 1. at it is too evedent, many both at home and abroad gadged in the Prosecution of this great Enterprize, ve been more influenced by their own selfish and orldly Interests, than by a zealous concern either for

the

Glory of God, or for the publick honour and advantag
of our Nation. 2. That in the choice of Instrumen
for promoving this noble Design, there hath not bee
that tenderness and caution exercised, which the case r
quired, to admit or entertain none, but such as were
known integrity, and fit to advance the Religious
well as the Civil Design of this Settlement: On th
contrary, too many have been admitted into this se
vice, that are Men of flagitious lives, and some of pe
nicious Principles, more apt to scandalize and corrup
than to commend Religion to our *Pagan* Neighbour
whom by all means we should seek to gain and save.
More particularly that there have abounded and do sti
remain among us, such abominations (notwithstandin
all the means used to restrain and suppress them) as th
rudest Heathens from the Light of Nature do abhor
such as Atheistical swearing and curling, brutis
drunkeness, detestable lying and prevaricating, obscen
and filthy talking, mocking of Godliness, yea and amon
too many of the the meaner sort base theiving and pi
fering, besides Sabbath breaking, contempt of all Go
pel Ordinances &c. which are stumbling to the very *In*
dians, opprobrious to the Christian Name, and Reproach
ful to the Church and Nation, to which we belong. 4
That among those that are free of those gross Scanda
lous Abominations, the far greater part among us hav
little of the Spiritual, heart exercising sense of Religio
and the power of Godliness: Many are grosly ignoran
of the Principles of Religion, and among the more know
ing, Hypocrisie, Formality, Impenitency, Unbelief, In
differency, Security, Omission of prayer, neglecting th
great Salvation, slighting of Christ offered in the Go
pel and other spiritual sins, do lamentably prevail: An
all these attended with the highest and most hainous ag
gravations, being committed and continued in against th
cleare

areſt light, many Mercies and Priviledges and renew. Reſolutions and Vows made to God, when his hand s heavy upon us in our late ſickneſs at ſea, which ny of us have already forgotten, and returned with Dog to the Vomit.

3 As we ought to be humbled for Theſe cauſes God's Wrath againſt us, ſo it ought to be a part of r work to mourn for the Evidences and Tokens of d's Diſpleaſure, in withholding his Counſell and Counance from many of our endeavours, and in many ps of holy Providence of Counteracting and walking trary to us, Eſpecially 1. That throughout our hole Voiage the Lords hand was heavy upon us, purng us with ſore ſickneſs and mortality, which cut ſo many of us. 2. That upon our Arrrival here, met with ſo diſcouraging and conſternating a Diſapintment of our hopes, in finding the Colony deſerted. d 3. That for ſo long a time ſome of our friends ve continued in ſad bondage, Priſoners in the hands the cruel *Spaniards*.

4 Theſe things do call for our more than ordinary ſtirring in turning to the Lord with all our hearts, d crying mightily to our God in ſolemn and ſerious ayer and Supplication, that he may give us Grace to thankful for our Mercies received, even in the midſt his Wrath: Give ſincere repentance and work in us a rough Reformation pardon our ſins and turn away his ath from us: That he may grant unto our Governours e Spirit of wiſdom and Reſolution, ſhine upon their unſells and Deliberations, and direct their Determinans and Adminiſtrations, to his own Glory and the od of this People. And upon all of us in our reſpect- Stations, beſtow his Grace, to know and to do what incumbent in our difficult circumſtances: That if it his holy will, he may favour with Succeſs the De- n of this Settlement, ſupplying all our wants, protect-

ing

ing us againſt all our Enemies, and particularly that his own due time and way, he may open a door introducing the Goſpel of Salvation to the poor *India* who have hitherto been ſtrangers to it; and that of us may get grace ſo to carry towards them, as th may not be ſtumbled, but rather allured and engadge to fall in love with our holy Religion. - - - -

Accordingly when the third of *January* formention was come, which was on a *Wedneſday*, the Miniſte with the Conſent and Allowance of our Counſello obſerved the ſaid Day, in a publick meeting of our Pe ple aſhoar, every Miniſter taking a Part of the Wo of the Day: The firſt Part of this Day's Work, whic was *Thankſgiving*, being perſormed by Mr *Borla* from that Text *Pſal* 50. 14. *Offer unto GOD Thank giving and pay thy Vows to the Moſt High.* The ſecon Part of the Days Work being *Humiliation*, was carrie on by Mr *Shields* from that Text Jer. 14. 19 *Ha thou utterly rejected Judah, hath thy Soul loathed Zion, wh haſt thou ſmitten us and there is no Healing for us, We looke for Peace, and there is no good, and for the Time of Healing and behold Trouble.* The laſt Part of this Days Work being *Prayer and Supplication*, was in the Afternoo managed by Mr *Stobo* upon that Text *Pſal.* 4. 6. *Lor liſt thou up the Light of thy Countenance upon us.* The a bove mentioned Cauſes of this *Solemn Work*, havin been in the Begining of the Day, publickly read befor all the Auditory.

The Miniſters did likewiſe deliver the *Commiſſion'* printed Letter, to many of the People preſent with u But the Chriſtian and Excellent Inſtructions containe therein, were little regarded by moſt of them: Thoug Strangers abroad with whom I converſed, and di communicate the ſame Letter unto, were much take with and highly commended the ſame.

Whil

While our People abode in *Caledonia*, the main Work
y did was the building of their Hutts within the
mpass of their Fort for their Habitation, and set-
g up two Store-houses for their Provisions: Besides
en they were alarmed with Reports of the *Spaniards*
eparations to come against us, which was about the
ter End of *January*, they began to bring some great
ns ashoar into the Fort, for their Defence against
e Enemy. But all the Time they were in *Caledonia*,
ir Ministers could never procure the Favour to get
tts built for them, for their Accommodation
oar among the People, though they often intreated
s Kindness of the chief ones here, which they gran-
d to the common Souldiers. So the Ministers were
cessitated to continue aboard their several Ships, in
eir small Cabbins, during their Continuance here,
hich proved a long and tedious Time to them, only
o of them Mr *Stobo* and the *Author* obtained the
vour of a borrowed Hut, to come ashoar into, for
out two Moneths Time, before our Removal hence,
t the other Minister Mr *Shields* had always his Abode
oard the *Rising-Sun*. These Circumstances made it
be the more uncomfortable to the Ministers here,
that they could not so freely nor frequently meet and
nverse together as they desired, especially some of
em having to do with uncomfortable Commanders.
nd when the Ministers here did meet, it was ordinarly
the shady, dark and silent Woods, *Inter densas umbrosa*
acumina Sylvas. Where I suppose such Guests and
xercises, never had been before.

Having before made Mention of Captain *Thomas*
Drummond, whom we found in this Place upon our Ar-
val, returned from *New-York* with some Provisions
nd Tools belonging to the first Colony, it may be
ere remembered that the said Captain *Thomas Drum-*
mond

mond being of a very forward Temper adviſed o
Counſellors, that they ſhould preſently after their A
rival, go in a military poſture againſt the *Spaniards*
Porto-Bel, this Advice our Counſellors did not like n
reliſh, ſeing the *Spaniards* as yet had not made any A
temptes againſt us, the ſaid Captain *Drummond* alſo ha
delivered unto our Councellors the Journal of the fir
Colony, which they having ſearched, found it ſeem
ſome Things in the Conduct and Managements of th
ſaid Captain *Drummond* in the Time of the firſt Colon
wherewith they were not well pleaſed, theſe Thing
made them Jealous and have an ill Opinion of hi
they gave him no Credit nor Truſt, and followe
none of his Meaſures; and not only ſo, but they furthe
confined and made him a Priſoner aboard of Captai
Duncan's Ship, ſetting a Guard upon him, in whic
State of Confinment he remained untill the Arrival o
Captain *Campbel* of *Fanab* after mentioned, who di
procure him Liberty to go up and down among us
but notwithſtanding herof they gave him no Truſt no
Employ, ſo jealous were they of him. And afterward
when the *Spaniards* were arrrived againſt us, the ſai
Captain *Drummond* left the Colony and went for J
maica, pretending to ſee if he could obtain any Hel
for us from the *Engliſh* there, againſt our Enemies, bu
he ſuceeded not in that Matter in *Jamaica*, and the *En*
gliſh ſeized upon his Goods he had with him.

Here it may be not improper to remember ſom
Paſſages of a Progreſs, which the Miniſters accompa
nyed with Lieutenant *Turnbul* and ſome others, mad
ſome Miles up the Countrey among our Neighbourin
and Friendly *Indians*. On *January* 16. *Tueſday*, we croſ
ſed our Harbour to the *South-weſt* Side thereof, an
travailed up ſeveral ſteep Hills, croſſing ſeveral ſma
Rivulets many Times over, becauſe of the variou

Winding

ſindings thereof, untill we came to a bigger River, lled by the *Indians Acla* the greater, travailing up by e Banks of this River, and ſometimes wading over e ſame pretty deep, at length we arrived at the *Indian*'s abitations, which are ſeated by the Banks of this River *cla*, here are pretty many of their Houſes along by e Sides of this Brook. This Night we lodged at the ouſe of an *Indian*, named Captain *Pedro*, where we ere pretty civily intertained with ſuch Fare as is uſual nong them, ſuch as dried Fiſh and dried Fleſh, *Plan-ns*, *Indian Corn and Potatos*, they gave us alſo Ham-ocks to lie in, and a Fire by our Beds, as is uſual with e *Indians* by Night. On the Morrow being *Wedneſday*, e bid farwell to our *Indian* Hoſt and came down the nks of the ſaid River *Acla*, all along till we came to e Sea Side at *Prandies Bay* over againſt *Golden-iſland*, oſſing the ſame River pretty deep ſeveral Times: etween the foreſaid *Indian*'s Dwellings and the Sea, the Banks of the ſaid River, there is a pretty conſi-rable Bounds of pleaſant level Ground, and in one art thereof many *Orange* Trees growing among the ild Woods, near to theſe alſo is a conſiderable Space open Ground free of Trees, which the *Spaniards* call *vanas*: When we were by the Sea Side, we travailed ong the Shoar for a little Way more weſterly, and en ſtruck up again into the Woods more Southerly, ll we came to another little River called by the *Indians* *cla* the leſſer, we journyed South-ward near the ſaid rook, untill we came to other *Indian*'s Dwellings by is River's Sides, and this Night we lodged at the ouſe of an *Indian* named *John*, being diſcreetly enough tertained according to the *Indian* Faſhion, their Houſ-are only Shades to defend them from Sun and Rain, eing all open by the Sides, next Day being *Thurſday*, e left our *Indian* Friends and returned to the Sea Side where

where thoſe Rivulets empty themſelves into the Sea, b
Prandies Bay, which is a pleaſant ſandy Shoar. It is t
be marked concerning thoſe formentioned Rivers, tha
they ſometimes hide themſelves, by running under th
Ground a pretty Space, and then break forth again a
bove Ground. We proceeded on our Journey towar
our Ships Eaſterly, and reſolved that we would trava
along the Shoar thinking it might be better and neare
Way, then back through the Woods by the Way w
came: Paſſing along the Shoar we came to a ſtee
Point that butts out into the Sea, which we judged un
paſſable, to ſhun which, we turned up into the Wood
and travailed a while, thinking to gain the Sea Sid
again, on the other Side of that forementioned ſtee
Point, but here we travailed ſo long and by ſuch crook
ed Turnings, and through ſuch Thickets of tall and
dark Woods, that we quite loſt our ſelves and were
bewildered, that we knew not what Way to move
nor how to extricate our ſelves, ſtanding ſtill therefor
in our bewildred and melancholy Condition, we hear
the Noiſe of the Sea, and judged it to be our only ſurel
Guide at preſent to wind our ſelves out of our preſen
Labyrinth, therefore we turned our Courſe directly to
ward the Noiſe of the Waves of the Sea, and a very
difficult and uncomfortable Paſſage we had in ſtriving
to get through the thorny Thickets of the Woods i
our Way, and with much Adoe at length we got ſafe
ly out into the open Air, by the Sea Side again, we
reſolved now that we would no more adventure ou
ſelves into the Woods, but keep along by the ſhoar
tho' difficult and uneaſie travailing over the cragge
and ſharp Rocks, yet here was no Danger of wandering
as in the Woods: Accordingly we kept along cloſe by
the Sea Side, and got over that ſteep Point with much
Difficulty, the Rocks were often ſo cloſe to the Sea
tha

hat in paſſing along, we were waſhen with the Waves
f the Sea, it is a very hard and rocky ſhoar all this
Way, and the various Windings and Bendings of the
oaſt made our Way much longer, ſometimes we had
eep Rocks to paſs over, which we muſt climb with
lands and Feet, we were all ſorely fatigued with this
ourney, eſpecially Mr *Shields*, was like to faint and
t up, he became ſo feeble and ſpent, ſo that we were
uch troubled about him, and the more becauſe our
roviſions and Cordialls were all ſpent, but paſſing
ftly along, at length we came up to a welcome Spring
freſh Water, ſpringing out of the Rocks, cloſe by the
a Side, this Well was to us, even as that Well was
Hagar in the Wilderneſs, when her Child was faint
d like to die, that juſtly we may call it by the Name
Beer-la-hai-Roi, the Well of him that liveth and did
e us, by this Well we reſted a while, and Mr *Shields*
ving drunk of it, he was refreſhed and ſtregthned,
d with the Help of the Lord, we were enabled to
oceed on in our Journey, till we came up to our Bay
poſit to our Ships, and this Evening we got all ſafe
aboard our ſeveral Ships, *Ebenezer. The LORD*
ding the Blind by a Way they knew not, preſerving our
ng out, and our coming in, and as our Day was, ſo making
r Strength to be.

About this Time we had much ſickneſs and Mortali-
among our Men, which, as it continued among us,
ſome Meaſure ſince our Arrival, was now become
demical and raging, whereby many even of our Offi-
s and chief Men were taken away, which was a ſore
ſcouragment to us.

On the ſecond of *February* the Miniſters ſent to this
lony agreed to write a Letter Home to *Scotland* to
Moderator of the *Commiſſion* of the *Generall Aſſembly*,
ing the *Church* and our *Friends*, ſome Account of

our Affairs hitherto, the Copy whereof follows

From the Woods of Caledonia *Febr.* 2. 1700.

Reverend Sir

This being the first sure Occasion that ever was offered to us, since our Departure from Scotland, and which may probably be the last that may occur from this Place, for writing to you concerning our Affairs: We thought our selves bound in Duty, and obliged by our Instructions, to embrace the Opportunity of giving you some Account of our sad and very afflicted State. If universally prevailing Wickedness in a Society, and very heavy Punishments, proclaiming divine Anger contending with us, together with all Manner of encreasing Hardships and imminent Dangers from surrounding Enemies, in a proper, wast and howling Wilderness, can make a Condition sad and afflicted.

The Source and Fountain Cause of all our Miseries we brought from our own Countrey with us, arising from the inconsiderate Choice that was made there o the worst of Men to go along with us, that ever were sent to command or serve in a Colony: Which in the judgment of GOD, our Land hath spued out a its Scum, and no spot of *GOD*'s Earth can entertain or receive, but as a Burden to it. The sending and intrusting such Multitudes of Men of such perverse and pernicious Principles and scandalous Practices, that hav no Regard to the commoneſt Measures of Religion o Reason, Honesty or Honour (which is the sad but ju Character of the greatest Part of those that have bee sent to settle this Colony) hath been the Cause of th Unsettlement thereof first and last: And threatens th final and fatal Ruin thereof, to the irreparable Loss, an indelible Shame and Reproach of the Nation. Suc was the Company we were thrust in among during th

Voya

Voiage, which will readily be judged might make it not little tedious and uneasie to us: Especially when after all the Essays and Endeavours we could use, in the discharge of Ministerial Duties to them, as we had access in our weak and difficult circumstances, after publick and private reproving their swearing, cursing, drunkenness, and pleading and contending with them, crying and roaring every day among them, about these things procuring laws to be made by their own consent against them, having publick exercise every day, and Preaching every Sabbath, so long as our Health permitted. Yet we could not prevail to get their wickedness restrained, or the growth of it stopped. For these things it pleased the Holy and Just God to punish and smite us very sore with a contagious sickness, which also we brought from *Scotland* with us, that raged during the whole voiage, so that few escaped the infection thereof, whereby many were cut off, to the number of about 160 in all: And among the rest some of God's Jewels and excellent Ones, and in particular our dear *Brother* Mr. *Alexander Dalgliesh*, who approved himself even to the Consciences of the most debauched, as a faithful servant of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet in the midst of all this wrath the Lord remembred Mercy toword us in supporting us under all these pressures, sparing some of us from sickness, and restoring others of us from the gates of Death, favouring us with a fair and easie wind and good weather all the way, & bringing us in safety to our Port at which we arrived *November* 30. But there we looked for Peace and no good came, and for a time of healing, and behold new Troubles: In some respect not unlike *David's* troubles, when he found *Ziglag* burnt and his Friends all gone, and the People speaking of stoning him: So we found our Colony deserted, their houses and Batteries burnt, the ground they had cleared

all grown up again, and no Accommodation or Comfo
left, but what is to be fought in a wilderneſs, attended wi
all the Sorrows, Vexations, Perplexities and Confuſion
that may be ſuppoſed to accompany ſo confounding an
ſurprizing a diſappointment of all our expectations, th
had ſwelled before to too great bigneſs.

We do not think it ſo proper for us, to trouble yo
with Narrations (which you may have otherways be
ter) of our Governours and Officers Reſolutions to re
ſettle, of the Meaſures taken for advancing that Deſig
and of the Difficulties and diſcouragements that occurre
and do ſtill increaſe in the proſecution of it. We concei
you will rather expect from us, an Account of th
Concerns of the Goſpel, and of our Miniſtry in th
Work: which we are ſorry that we are not in caſe
make ſo ſatisfactory as were to be deſired, being intr
cated in ſo many Difficulties, to us inſuperable. Th
Truth is, as every Body was brought to his wits en
ſo when we fought a Retirement in the Woods, whic
to this day is all the Accommodation we have for ou
Meeting to pray and confer together about our Ca
and Duty, we knew not what to do, and began to doub
it we were called in our preſent circumſtances, and we
by our Commiſſion and inſtructions obliged to ſtay
ny longer with this people, who at firſt were not con
cerned in Calling us, and now did not invite us to ſta
We began to reaſon with our ſelves, that upon ſuch
Subſtantial alteration of the caſe of our Miſſion, the ſe
veral Congregations that ſtill are in relation to ſom
of us, as our charge, and the reverend *Commiſſion* th
ſent us, might expect our Return, The Colony an
Church of *New-Edinburgh* to which we were ſent i
Miſſion, were now gone, and not to be found, and th
latter never had a being in *Rerum Natura*, and a great pa
of our Inſtructions, through unforeſeen Emergents, effe
tiall

ally altering the Case, were now become impracticable: s that of dividing the inhabitants of the Colony into istricts or Parishes, that each of us might have a par- ular charge, which now cannot suit our circumstances: being determined to keep only 500 of sea and land en, whose local residence is circumscribed, within the nits of one little Fort: That of holding Parochial Ses- ns and Diets of *Presbytery* distinct, which supposeth the rmer division.

That of labouring among the Natives for their instr ction and conversion, which to us is impossible, having ith r the language nor any interpreter, that can speak her *Spanish* or *Indian:* And the last, that so many of shou'd stay in this Countrey, as might keep up the ce of a *Presbytery*, untill new Supplies should be sent: hich is now impracticable, when though all of us shou d y, we can hardly make the face of of a *Presbytery*.

These Difficulties were very discouraging, yet on the er hand considering the necessitie of this people to have Gospel preached to them, which is so much the great- that they are not sensible of it: And that we know r, what our People or the Reverend Judicatories that t us, will expect of us upon such changes, nor whether y are informed of the Change, but rather might chal- ge us upon our return, and silence us with such a Que- as we could not answer: What have ye done with se few sheep in the Wilderness, that there is still a Co- y in the place, which is the primary Object of our rge, and that though some of our instructions are dred impracticable, yet others are still practicable: d the design of all of them is, that we should fulfill our ssion, in labouring in the work of the Gospell, to the ification of the Colony, and the good of all it may ch. We therefore judge our selves called by Divine ovidence, and oblidged by our Commission, and by the

Laws

Laws of brotherly Society for our mutual comfort a
ſtrengthning, to ſtay together with this people for ſom
Time, untill we ſhall ſee what is like to become of t
Colony, and uſe ſome weak endeavours if poſſible
ſettle ſomething like a *Church* here. Having thus r
ſolved we addreſſed the Councell, and preſented t
Commiſſion's Letter to them, which they received civil
enough, at the ſame time we ſhewed to them our Com
miſſion and puplick Inſtructions, as likewiſe a Copy
what was recommended by the *Commiſſion* at *Edinburg*
to the Honourable Court of Directors, that that Cou
might write to the Government here concerning Sub
miſſion to our Miniſtry, and their concurrence with
in ſuppreſſing Immorality and Prophanneſs &c. An
deſired to know if the Court of Directors had writte
to the Government here about ſuch matters: The
declared there was no ſuch thing ſignified to ther
by any Letters. This neglect of that Honourabl
Court is very prejudicial to us; For if they had pleaſ
ed to have Recommended theſe things, it would hav
quickned our Councellors to more Zeal, than all ou
Arguments can perſwade them to. It was ſometim
after this before we could find Conveniency (the clear
ing of the ground and building of Hutts for the me
taking up much time) to ſet apart with the advic
and concurrence of the Government, a day for ſolemn
Thankſgiving to God for our Preſervation, and for im
ploring his bleſſing and conduct in our enſuing work
unto which conſidering the preſent humbling diſpenſa
tions of Providence, and the uncertainty of opportunity
afterwards, we judged it expedient, to adjoin ſolemn
Humiliation for our former and preſent abounding A
bominations, and acknowledging the Juſtice of God in
preſent judgments; So making the work of that Day
Tripartite, Thankſgiving Humiliation and Prayer, which

was

was performed on *January 3d last*. But it was grievous to us, that so few give their Countenance and Presence at that work, and so very many, both Officers, Seamen and planters absented themselves, as they do every Sabbath, some from a principle of carelets sloath and indifferency, others of *Malignancy* or wicked *Perverseness*: By which you may perceive how little Access we have to edifie this people: Which is yet the less, that a great Number of them, near on third at least, are wild *Highlanders*, that cannot speak nor understand *Scotch*, which are Barbarians to us and we to them. Yet we do and shall through Grace endeavour to be faithful and diligent in preaching the Word to them that will hear it which is all that hitherto we could perform of Ministerial duties to them, while they are kept so busie at Work. This Work we carry on as *Colleagues* in a Collegiat Relation to the whole People, agreeing to divide our Labours so, as two of us Preach ashoar, and one aboard the *Rising-Sun* every *Lords day*, *Alternis Vicibus*. It hath been and yet continues a great inconveniency to us, that we are forced to lodge aboard the several ships we came in, having no Hutts built for us yet ashoar: And so we cannot always when we would, either meet together, or go ashoar for visiting the sick, which are now very numerous above 130. This Sickness for sometime abated, but it is now returned in its former Rage, which in some is the seasoning, in others occasioned by their eating some poisonous fruits and an unwholesome water, which they find in the Woods, and more geneally by their fore working, and small allowance of our old salt and bad Provision, which is pinching and straitning to all of us: But the holy Cause that we are most concerned to acknowledge, is the Anger of God plagueing us for our sins, and threatning to cause our Carcases fall in the Wilderness, wherein many are fallen already, buried since our Arrival.

We

We have mentioned already Disadvantages for doing any thing among the *Indians*: Yet our Curiosity carried us to travel two or three Days among them. We find them a poor naked People, living as we use to say from hand to mouth, being very idle and lazy and not industrious, peaceable and friendly to those that use them kindly, but very revengeful and covetous. We cannot discover either what Worship they have, save that we hear their *Priests* consult the Devill about their Enemies or ships coming to their Coasts, or such like Events, or that ever they heard any thing of the Christian Religion from *Spanish Priests* or others: In two of their houses we went about publick Exercise of worship, which they did not disturb, but sate with grave silence all the time. They knew not at first our distinction of the Lords Day from other days, and so came with their fruits and trade to sell, but now some of them have learned that we keep such a Day, and several of them come to our Sermons to see our Fashion, and carry themselves very decently. There might be some hope of doing some good among them, if we had any that had their Language, and if our Peopl's Practice did not stumble them: But alas we have reason to fear, we shall do them more hurt than good, for the first of our Language they learn is Cursing and Swearing, and they have frequently complained of our Peoples going out, and stealing and robbing from them: So that in little time we shall make ourselves and our Religion both odious to them.

Thus we have given given some hints of our Affairs and Doings hitherto, some things Recommended to us in our Instructions we have delayed upon the account of the Circumstances of the Colony: It being determined so soon as the Wind will permit, to send off to Jamaica with the hired ships, all that are now pressing to be gone, and to retain none but 400 Land men and a 100 Sea-

-men, to save Provisions which are much exhausted: hen to wait two or three *Moneths* for Supplies of Pro- ions from *Scotland*, which if they come, the Colony y be in a fair way of Setling, and if so, through grace purpose to wrestle out our Year with them: If se Supplies come not in Time, this Colony will a- n dislodge, and then we must make the best of our ay homeward. Upon these Considerations, having de- ered a great many of the Commissions Printed Letters Sea upon the Voyage, and some more of them since we me to this Place (which many did not much regard t cast them behind their back) we delayed distribu- g what remains of them, untill we see who shall go ay and who shall stay. And upon the same Prospect ving advised with some of the Counsellors, whom we uld conveniently and confidently consult in these mat- s (for some of them we did not judge fit to be com- ned with upon such heads) We have delayed the con- uting our selves a *Presbytery*, untill the Colony be bet- constituted: As likewise the associating to our selves d setting a part *Ruling Elders*, which will be very hard find here duely or tolerably qualified. But if matters ceed, we intend to essay these things in due time. It ll be a great Pity if as we fear, this Design of so great portance to the Nation, shall again miscarry and come nothing, through the Mismannagments and delays of pplying us with Provisions: The Land is pleasant d a very fruitful Soil, and might yeild a very rich ade, if we had means to subdue the Ground, and skill improve it. But if Supplies be denyed or delyed, it ust needs be lost in a very short time.

There come hitherto no People to Trade with us from y *European* Colony, and therefore we expect but very ely occasions to acquant you with the State of our Af- s: And for this Reason, having by our Commission a

Liberty

berty to return when our Year is fulfilled, and be
obliged by our inſtructions to give timely notice of
Reſolutions in that matter: We muſt now give you
vertiſement, and intreat you to intimate it to the Re
rend *Commiſſion*, that none of us are determined to le
here, but all of us are reſolved, if the Lord will, to co
home, without a deſign of returning hither again.
the place be deſerted we ſhall endeavour to give you
Account of it perſonally, with all poſſible expediti
If the Colony remain, we ſhall uſe all endeavours, to lea
ſome young men behind us, in a Capacity to preach
them: And ere we leave the place to bring this Infa
Settlement to ſuch a Poſture, that it ſhall be more enco
rageing to any that ſhall be afterwards ſent by the Chur
of *Scotland* to aſſiſt in this work, then hitherto it ha
been. We add no more, but begging your Sympat
and prayers, and that the Reverend *Commiſſion* may i
terpoſe with the Honourable Court of Directors to e
cite them, to accelerate their ſending us Proviſions, th
we and this great Concern in our hands, may not per
in this Wilderneſs: And that when theſe ſhall be ſe
or any ſure occaſion be offered, we may be refreſhed
Inſtructed with a Letter from that Reverend Judicato
We crave leave to ſubſcribe our Selve

REVEREND SIR

Your Afflicted Brethren and Servan
in the Work of the Goſpell

ALEXANDER SHEILD
FRANCIS BORLAND
ARCHIBALD STOBO

This above written Letter was drawn up and penne
by the Reverend Mr *Alexander Shields.*

Th

The Government and Management of the Affairs of his Colony was in the Hands of four Counsellors, viz. Captain *Gibson*, *James Byars*, Captain *Veatch* and Major *Lindsay*, and of these *James Byars* was the main Actor and bore the greatest Sway during his Abode among us. But on *February* 7 the said Mr *Byars* sailed hence in a Sloop for *Jamaica*, to see if he could procure to us any Supplies from thence (our forsaid Letter was sent by him) but he came no Speed in *Jamaica*: The *English* there being no Well-whishers to the Success of this Colony. And Mr *Byars* though he endeavoured a Return to our Colony, yet he never got in to us again: The *Spaniards* having arrived before this Place, when he was in his Way to us, so that he was necessitat to return to *Jamaica*, where at length we met with him, after we had left *Caledonia* and were arrived at *Jamaica*.

On the 11 of *February* arrived here in a Sloop from *Barbadoes* Captain *Campbel* of *Fanab*, having Orders from our Directors at Home to be one of our Counsellors, he brought some Provisions with him, which were very welcome to us, we being in great Straits at this Time. His Arrival and Instructions made our Counsellors alter some of their Measures, which before they had resolved and concluded upon: For now they resolved to keep still all their Men, and to send none of them to *Jamaica* as before they had resolved. For hitherto the two hired Ships that were to carry them off, could not get out of this Harbour, the Wind continuing still contrary to them: And so Divine Providence ordered it, that they continued here, untill such Time, as we removed hence altogether. So we see that Men propose, but *GOD* disposeth of us and all our Concerns, as it pleaseth him. About this Time we were daily alarmed by the *Indians*, with Reports of the *Spaniards* Preparations against us, which the Event in a little Time proved to be true.

February

February, 13 Our Counſellors having received certai Intelligence by the *Indians*, that a Party of *Spaniar* were coming by Land againſt us, ſent out a Detachmen of about 200. Men againſt them under the Comman of Captain *Campbel* of *Fanab* foreſaid, with whom jone about 40 of our *Indian* Friends, under the Conduct o Lieutenant *Turnbul*, who had been one of the firſt Co lony, and underſtood ſomething of the *Indian* Language On *Thurſday* Evening *Febr.* 15 our Men being condu cted by the *Indians* through the Woods, came up with the *Spaniards* [who had barricaded themſelves with Trees upon the ſide of a Hill] and ſuddenly ſet upon them, and after ſeveral Firings, the *Spaniards* fled, our Men durſt not purſue them far, becauſe it was now Night, and the thick Woods were dangerous to Men unacquainted therewith, they found about eight or nine of their Men ſlain, and three they took Priſoners, there were about as many of our Men killed, and about 14 wounded, among the wounded were Caprain *Campbel*, Lieutenant *Turnbul* and Captain *Pedro* an *Indian* ſore wounded. The Spot where this Skirmiſh happened, is by the *Indians* called *Yara-tuba*, our Men judged it to be about 20 Miles Diſtance from our Fort, bearing from us about *South-weſt*, all the Way being Mountainous, up Hill and down Hill, but ſtill the Aſcent greater and increaſing, the further Inlands they travelled: They found alſo here far up the Countrey, the Weather to be wet and rainy, eſpecially by Night, wheras we that were by the Sea ſide here below, enjoyed ſtill fair Weather. On *Febr.* 18. Our Men returned from their Engagment in Peace. This was now a ſmiling Providence upon us, and our People now generally were lifted up with Hopes and Confidence, that all Things would ſucceed proſperouſly with them. But alas! we did not walk humbly and thankfull before *GOD*, under this

is Smile of his Providence upon us, inſtead of our orifying the *GOD* of our Salvation, there was little be ſeen among moſt of our Men, but exceſſive runkenneſs, profane ſwearing, ranting, boaſting and nging: And ſo came of it, for ſhortly after, our pre-nt Smiles were turned into Frowns, our clear Sun-ine, was overcaſt with dark and threatning Clouds, rovidence had a quite contrary Aſpect upon us, and e were ſoon as much dejected and caſt down, as we had efore been vain, proud and liſted up.

Abour this Time we were betrayed by ſeveral Stran-ers coming in among us, under the Pretence of Friend-ip and Neceſſity. An *Engliſh* Sloop came into our Harbour pretending to be from *Jamaica*, but was re-lly a Spy from the *Spaniards*, as afterwards we under-tood, they had gone from us to the *Spaniards*, and were in their Company, when ſome few Days after his, the *Spaniards* arrived upon our Coaſt with their Fleet. Likewiſe about the ſame Time there were a-bout nine *French* Men, that dropt in among us, in a ſmall Periago with *Tortoiſes* to ſell, to our chief Men, that were able and willing to buy the ſame: And theſe alſo afterwards were found to be among our Ene-mies, For there was a Mixture of ſeverall Nations ſer-ving in the *Spaniſh* Fleet, that came againſt us.

Our Fears of the *Spaniards* now daily increaſing, the Counſellors ordered the repairing and fortifying the Batteries about the Fort, in ſuch Sort as our pre-ſent Circumſtances would allow, and having Intelligence that ſeverall Ships were ſpied off our Coaſt, they ſent forth two ſloops, and the Long-Boat belonging to the *Riſing-ſun*, with ſeveral Men aboard, to cruize along the Coaſt, and diſcover what Veſſels thoſe were: Theſe little Veſſels ſailing along ſoon diſcovered thoſe ſhips, whom they found to be *Spaniards*, and they gave Chaſe

to our ſmall Veſſels, ſo that they were forced to flee toward their Harbour: The two Sloops being go ſailers, got ſafely into the Harbour: But the Lon boat being duller was forced to run aſhoar, and the M leaving the Boat, fled for their Lives into the Woo Thus the *Riſing-ſun* loſt her Long boat, which was great Dammage to her.

And now ſader Times and heavier Diſaſters and Ca mities befell the poor *Caledonians*, then they had hithe to met with. For on the 23 and 25 of *February*, the arrived in our View about eleven Sail of *Spaniſh* Veſſe great and ſmall, they came to an Anchor within *Golde Iſland* over againſt *Prandies* Bay: We daily expect their coming in to our Harbour, to attack our Fo and Ships. Our People were filled now with Fears a ſad Thoughts of Heart, about our Condition and t Event of what might befall us. So all Hands Seam and Landmen were put to Work, who were able, fortifie the Place as well as they could: They alſo mad ſeveral Fire-ſhips of their ſmaller Veſſels, puting the ſelves in as good a Poſture of Defence as they coul But the *Spaniards* did not come in with their Ships, fo they knew this Harbour well enough, which is eaſie fo great Ships to come into, but difficult and dangerou to get out again, the Wind this Seaſon of the Year, ge nerally blowing right into it. So they went anothe Way to work leſs dangerous to themſelves, and mor diſadvantagious to us, which was to hem us in both b ſea and Land.

Many were the awfull Rebukes of *GOD* upon us a this Time, beſides a threatning Enemy without, an ſore and waſting ſickneſs and Mortality within among our ſelves: It pleaſed the *Lord* alſo to afflict us with dreadful Fire that broke out among our Hutts, an burnt down to the Ground ſeveral Rows of them, whic

was

s on *February* 28, by the casual firing of some Gun-
wder: Hereby many of our Men lost all their Goods
Cloaths, and several of the sick People being hastily
led out of their Hutts, to save them from the devou-
g Flames, and exposed to the open Air, it increased
ir sickness and hastned their Death. Thus the An-
of the *Lord* burnt against us round about, yet few of
duely laid it to Heart.

The *Spaniards* soon after their Arrival, sent some of
ir smaller Vessels to the Eastward of our Settleme,
r *Caret* Bay, and there landed Men ashoar, intending
attack us by Land: And shortly after, these Men of
eirs were joyned by other *Spaniards* that came over
nd from *Panama* and *Santa Maria*, accompanyed with
umbers of *Indians*, *Negroes* and *Molattoes*, who were
pert in knowing the Woods, and cutting Passages
rough the thorny Thickets of Woods in their Way.
was reported now by some, that their whole Force
th by sea and Land against us, amounted to about
oo. And now the *Spaniards* having made up a con-
derable Body of Men there ashoar, under the Com-
and of their *General Don John Pimienta*, who was pre-
nt with them, they drew their Men nearer in Parties,
oward that Neck of Land, that joines our Peninsula to
e Main.

Our Counsellors being now certainly informed of the
Spaniards Landing in that Place, and their advancing that
way against us, sent our parties of their men against them,
nd to defend that pass at the Narrow Neck of Land: Our
men had several Skirmishes with parties of their men
n the Woods about that Place, severals were killed and
wounded on both sides, and among others of our men
Cap. *Mc intosh* who stood his Ground stoutly here, was
sorely wounded, and died some few days after, this Skir-
mish

wiſh was on *Feb.* 29. and after this we had ſome few da of reſpite from Skirmiſhing.

On *March* 17. Our Men had a freſh Skirmiſh with t *Spaniards* in the Woods, and perceiving them now to b encreaſed in their Numbers, in their coming againſt ou Men, beyond what they were before, and our Men n being ſo well acquainted and expert in fighting in the woo as the *Spaniards* and their Taunny Company were, there upon our Men retired, and left the Neck of Land fre and open for the *Spaniards* to paſs over. Our Coun ſellors did no more ſend out any Parties of Men tha Way, to Skirmiſh with the *Spaniards*, ſave only Scout to obſerve their Motion: So the *Spaniards* gradually advan ed nearer to our Settlement. About the ſame Time th *Spaniſh* General ſent a Drummer with a Demand or chal lange to our Councellors, which our Men for want o an Interpreter, did not well underſtand: But declare that they were Gentlemen of Honour and would to thei outmoſt defend themſelves and the place.

The hand of the Lord was very heavy upon us, at thi time our ſicknes and mortality much increaſing, and ma ny dayly dying, moſt of our able Officers were taken away by Death, *Major Lindſay* one of our Counſellors died about this time, this ſad viſitation, did much diſpirit and diſcou rage the ſurviving that hitherto were in any health, for men were very ſpeedily taken away by this waſting ſickneſs ſome in tolerable health to day and cut off by ſudden violent Fevers and Fluxes in a very few days.

We had many confuſed Sabbaths among us at this time through our diſtractions and fears of the Enemy. It was propoſed by the Miniſters to our Counſellors, that a Day of Prayer might be ſet apart for imploring the Help of the Lord in this our great ſtrait and Day of Diſtreſs, but they thought ſo little of this Spiritual wea pon, that they pretended they had not time for it, and ſo it was neglected. But though the Miniſters were de-

nied

ed a Day for publick prayer, yet they made conscience
send up their cries to the hearer of Prayer, both together
d in their secreet Recesses, that they might be remembred
their low estate and the Lord would be seen in the mount
our Extremity, and some here have cause to Remark
d to remember, how the Lord spake comfortably to
them in the Wilderness, and gave them the Valley of
chor for a Door of Hope.

Shortly after our Counsellors and cheif Officers being
sible they were not in a Condition and Capacity to
ld out long against the Enemy, the contagious sickness
ging so among us from within, and a bloody Adver-
y with whom we expected no mercy, blocking us
, both by Sea and Land from without: They sent
me of their Number, Capt. *Kerr* with others, to treat
th the *Spanish* General about Articles of Capitulation.
t the *Spaniard*, though otherways discreet and civil to
r Men, was so high and lofty in his demands and
erms at this time, that nothing less would satisfie him
n a surrender of all the Companies ships, Goods & Am-
unition, and would only yeild to us a Liberty to trans-
rt our persons and wearing Apparrel in the hired
ips, and so be gone from this Place. Our Men
ould not accept of such hard Terms, and so this Treaty
oke up without Effect, on *March* 22. The
niards threatned hard and cruel things against us, pre-
ring for a speedy assaulting us. There was much Con-
rnation of heart among us at this time, and upon this
sappointment, sinking Fears and little Faith and Hope,
r Condition now seeming most desperate like, Death
all hands stared us in the Face, and indeed most of
had the Sentence of Death in our selves, many among
said, they believed there was not a People in the world
more Calamitous and deplorable Circumstances, then
e were in at this time: But as one among us well
d, This was the great Support of the true Fearers of

God among us, though we were thus afflicted yet w
could not be miserable. And indeed it is the peculi
Privildge of *GOD*'s Upright Ones, that though the
be troubled on every Side, perplexed, persecuted an
cast down, yet they are not in Despair, not forsaken, n
destroyed. 2 *Cor.* 4. 8. 9. *Though they fall, they shall n*
be utterly cast down, for the LORD upholdeth them with h
Hand, and is their Light in Darkness.

The *Spaniards* were still advancing nearer to us, a
on *March* 24 they were within a Mile of our For
on the side of an Hill eastward from us, soon after th
approached so near, that they were got between us a
our Look-out, which is an Hill benorth our Fo
And now they had gained the Advantage of having d
rect Communication by Boats from their Fleet, whe
by they had great Guns and Ammunition brought
their Land Forces, and they were now mounting
Battery against our Fort, upon the *North-side* there
where our Fort was weakest, neither could our Men
their Guns hinder their Intercourse with their Fle
nor do them Dammage in their Camp, for the thi
Woods hid and covered them.

March 28 & 29 The *Spaniards* being near us, some
their Musketiers advanced forward near the Skirts
the Wood contiguous to our Fort, and fired both th
Days upon our Fort, the Bullets flying over our Hea
we had only one Man wounded at this Time: O
Men on the other side were also firing towards the
but they could not get sight of them, they keeping the
selves still darkned in the Woods, and behind the gr
Trees.

It was a very great Loss to us, that since the Spa
ards had got so near our Fort, they debarred us fr
our Watering-place, which was about half a Mi
Distance from our Settlement, for none then were su

d or durſt adventure to go out of the Fort to fetch Vater, the Enemy lying hid in the Woods. So our oor diſtreſſed People were neceſſitat to dig for Water ithin the Fort, which is brackiſh, puddle unwholſome Vater: This was moſt hurtfull and pernicious to our len, eſpecially to Men ſo ſick and low, as the moſt us at this Time were: Such Water would have ade whole Men ſick, and muſt needs then be more ngerous and hurtfull to the ſick and dying, eſpecially nſidering how bad and unwholſome our old, ſalt and oiled Proviſion now was, and as for other Liquors at is Time, to give to the ſick and dying, we had little none, or any other Suſtenance that was ſuitable or mfortable, and moreover our Surgeons Drugs were w almoſt all exhauſted, and our Fort was indeed like a oſpital of ſick and dying Men.

While the poor *Caledonians* in a melancholy Wilderneſs ere brought thus very low, environed with Enemies Sea and Land, and plagued with contagious ſickneſs ily waſting them [that we might juſtly apply that to ur Caſe, which was *Iſrael*'s Complaint of old in the Vilderneſs, *Pſal.* 90. 7. *We are conſumed by thine Anger, d by thy Wrath we are troubled*] and filled with every hing that can make a Lot bitter and uncomfortable as all and Wormwood: And had no external, viſible robability of Hopes of any ſuccour or Relief from a-road, Refuge on all hands ſeeming to fail them. Di-ine Providence [that is never at a Loſs, and in the Mount uſeth to be ſeen] ſo ordered it, that the *Spaniſh* eneral *Don Pimienta* himſelf offered to capitulat with ur Counſellors, which was on *March* 30 and *March* 1. The *Spaniards* and our Principal Men came to an greement, about delivering up the Fort to the *Spani-rds*, upon certain Articles aftermentioned, All our Counſellors and Officers agreed to this Capitulation, ex-

cepting Captain *Campbel* of *Fanab* foreſaid, who was al
ways againſt any treating with the *Spaniards*, otherwiſ
then by the Sword. So there were only two Counſel
lors Captain *Gibſon* and Captain *Veatch*, beſides our o
ther chief Officers, that had the principal managing o
this Matter. Captain *Veatch* had the great Burden o
Affairs lying upon him. becauſe Captain *Gibſon* tarric
moſt Part aboard his ſhip.

The Articles were drawn up in latin by Mr *Jame*
Main who was our Interpreter in this Treaty with th
Spaniards, becauſe he could ſpeak *French*, and the *Spaniſ*
General underſtood that Language, but declared tha
he would not ſubſcribe the Articles in *French*: There
fore they were drawn up in latin, which he alſo under
ſtood, The Tenor whereof is here ſubjoined, tranſla
ted from the Latin Copy.

ARTICLES *of* CAPITULATION *agree*
upon between His EXCELLENCY DON. JOHN
PIMIENTA, *Captain of His* CATHOLICK
MAJESTIES *Forces, both by Sea and Land an*
Governour of Carthagena: *And the Commander*
of Fort Saint Andrew *in the Bay of* Caledonia, *a*
bout the Surrendring of the ſaid Fort St. Andrew.
March. 31. 1700

ARTICLE I. All Officers, Souldiers and others, wh
at preſent are in the ſaid Fort, or belong to the ſai
Colony, may freely repair aboard their Several ſhips, b
which they came hither, with Colours Flying, and drum
beating, together with all their Arms and Ammunition
and with all their goods and Proviſions.

ARTICLE II. To this Purpoſe ther's granted t
then

hem, the ſpace of 14 Days to Wood and Water in, nd that their ſhips may be in a Readineſs to Sail.

ARTICLE III, That Time being expired, ſo ſoon s the Wind ſhall preſent fair, all our ſhips of what ſort ever, with all their warlike Furniture aboard, with he Reſt abovementioned, ſhall ſet ſail together.

ART. IV. As much Gun-Powder, Bullets, Guns reat and ſmall, as ſhall be judged ſufficient, ſhall be giv- n to every ſeaman and ſouldier and to their ſeveral ſhips or their furniture for their Voiage, a defence againſt what- ever evil occurrent may befal them, in their Voiage rom this port Toward *Britain*.

ART. V. All Veſſells great or ſmall, that may hap- en hereafter to come from *Brittain* or elſwhere to this ort, upon our account ſhall have Liberty, to Wood nd water if need be, and to ſet ſail again without any Voleſtation from the *Spaniſh Kings* Subjects, providing ney commit no Hoſtility, and that for the Space of 2 *Moneths* after the Date hereof.

ART. VI. All Perſons taken priſoners by either par- ſince His Majeſty of *Great-Brtain* his Subjects, did ſt bring a Colony to this Place, ſhall be forthwith ſtored and delivered up.

ART. VII. That the *Indians* who have been iendly to us, and converſed with us, ſince we came ither, ſhall not be moleſted upon that Account [it is be marked here that the *Spaniſh-General* would by no eans yeild to this Article about the *Indians*, although e Miniſters petitioned him upon that Head: He id the *Indians* were the King of *Spains* Subjects, and e knew beſt how to treat his own Subjects himſelf, and the *Indians* would keep themſelves out of his way he ould not ſearch after them. And he was angry ith the Reverend Mr *Shields* who preſented our Peti- ion to him, and gave him a ſhort Anſwer, of being too

Officious

Officious, saying to him, *Cura tua Negotia*, to which he replied, *Curabo*, and so they parted)

ART. VIII. That what Hostages shall be required, the *Spanish General* shall deliver, for the more certain performance of the premisses

Subscribed *PIMIENTA.*

I. In Consideration of the Premisses, the Officers & Commanders of the foresaid Fort *St. Andrew*, do unanimously deliver up the said Fort to the *Spanish General*, with all Guns great and small, together with all other warlike Ammunition, at present therein, and also aboard their ships, except what is expressed in the fourth Art.

2. Likewise all smaller Arms, excepting those which belong to the Officers, and one Gun Sword and Dagger to be given to every Souldier, with one pistol and Sword to be assigned to each Sea man, shall moreover be delivered to the *Spanish-General*: And that the premisses may be duely performed, The Commanders of the sd, Fort, shall within one hour, after Ratification of the premisses, and after Hostages received, expressed in the 8 Art., deliver up one gate and one Rampart to the said *General* to be possessed by 30 Souldiers, untill the *Scots* be all got aboard of their several Ships.

3. We oblidge our selves that we shall in no wise molest any of His *Catholick Majesties* Subjects, either by Land or by Sea, while we are upon our Voiage hence toward *Britain*, providing they do not molest or trouble us.

Subscribed *Gibson*
Veatch.

After Ratification of the forsaid Articles, our men made all the Dispatch they were able, to get ready to sail. We were much afraid least the *Spaniards* should have

ve proven falſe and treacherous to us, but God over-
led them, that they made no open breach of the Trea-
. Our Officers now deſired the favour of the *Spaniſh*
neral, that he would grant Liberty to our Men to go
d ſee if they could get of the *Riſing-Sun*'s Long-boat
at was run aſhoar, as is before mentioned, but he would
y no means yeild to it, thus were two of the ſaid
ips boats were loſt to her, which proved a great want
d Damnage to ſuch a ſhip. This *Pimienta* was a lit-
e thin Man in Stature, but mighty proud, paſſionate, ſtiff
wilful.

After the Concluſion of the Treaty with the *Spaniards*,
ey with Allowance of the *General*, came and traded
ith our People buying ſeveral of their Commo-
ities, which our men were very willing to ſell to them
nd by this means ſome of our People came to be pro-
ided with money to bear their charges, when they ar-
ived at another Port, which proved a favourable Provi-
ence to many of them.

Some may here Queſtion, what were the main Cauſes
f the *Scots* Officers Capitulating with the *Spaniards* at
his Time. In anſwer whereunto, though from what is
bove related ſufficient reaſon may appear for it, let it
e further weighted and conſidered.

1. At this time when they were ſo hemmed in by the
Spaniards both by Sea and Land, they were alſo plagued
with a ſore contagious, raging and waſting ſickneſs, which
was now become Epidemical, and thoſe of us who were
not affixed to our Beds were become exceeding weak and
feeble, ſo that at this Juncture they could hardly make
out 300 able men fit for Service, this did exceedingly
diſpirit and diſcourage our men, the ſurviving daily be-
holding what numbers were ſwept away by violent and
ſudden Deaths, ſometimes we wold bury 16 Men in a
Day, and Men walking up and down in tolerable Caſe to

Day

Day, would sometimes be surprized with the stroak o
Death to morrow, hence their was a general consterna
tion of Spirit among us, we looked on our selves as dea
Men, besides most of our best Officers were already dea
and taken away by this wasting sickness, therefore ou
Officers and men that were yet left, saw their case here
desperate and hopeless, they had no ground of encourag
ment to hold out against the Enemy any longer, but were
glade to accept of such Terms as these, when they had
them in their Offer, without any longer delay, other-
ways they had been foolishly fond of filling this Place
with their dead bodies, and of coveting graves here in
this Wilderness.

2 Our People here at this Time had this Aggravation
further of their present misery, that their Provision was
very bad and unwholsome, as well as growing very scarce
and short, their bread was mouldy and corrupt with
Worms, their Flesh most unsavoury and ill scented, their
Drugs were now almost all exhausted, and what Com-
fort was here to sickly and dying Men. ?

3 In our present Condition we could not rationally
expect any fresh supplies in season for our Relief: The
Spaniards having blockt up the Entry into our Harbour
by sea, and hemmed us in by Land also, were in a Ca-
pacity to keep out any from coming into us with sup-
plies [as they actualy did severals, as afterwards we
understood] the *Spaniards* might only have kept their
station where they were, and in a short Time have star-
ved us out, whithout using any other Force against us.

4 Our Men were now also debarred from their water-
ing Place by the *Spaniards*, and had Nothing for our
poor, sick and dying Men to drink, but puddle, brackish
and most unwholsome Water, which we were necessitat
to dig for within the Limits of our Fort, and this exceed-
ingly encreased our Affliction.

5.

5. Our ſmall ſhot was now almoſt all ſpent, ſo that the Officers came through ſeeking Pewter Veſſel to melt down and make bullets of, our Gun-powder alſo we have had left, was not good.

6. The *Spaniards* that were lying againſt us aſhoar, *Benorth* our Fort, were now mounting a Battery with great Guns againſt us, and upon that ſide our Fort was weakeſt to make any Defence or Reſiſtance: Our main ſtrength being on that ſide next to the ſea.

7. The *Spaniards* here were in a Manner at their own Home having their Towns and Plantations round about them, and near to them, ſuch as *Carthagena, Santta Maa, Porto-bel* and *Panama*, from which they could in a ſhort Time, have new Supplies of Men and Proviſions brought into them. So that they were in Capacity to have ſtayd here long enough, to have made the poor *Caledonians* glad to capitulat with them, upon harder Terms than theſe: Whereas our Men were now as in their Enemies Countrey, and far from Friends, and could not tell when or whence any Relief ſhould come to them, nor in their preſent Circumſtances could they reaſonably expect it.

8. Our *Indian* Friends could now bring us no Relief, being neceſſitat to ſhift for themſelves, for Fear of the *Spaniards*, beſides ſome of them had gone over to the *Spaniards*, and had ſecreet Correſpondence with them, for they commonly join with the ſtronger ſide, and little Truſt is to be put in moſt of them.

If the impartial Reader weigh theſe Things and candidly conſider the Caſe of theſe diſtreſſed People in the Wilderneſs at this Time, I think he ſhall have no juſt Cauſe to reflect upon or find Fault with our Officers and Chief Men, for accepting of a Capitulation with the *Spaniards* in ſuch Circumſtances. Whoever ſhall reproach and blame them for it, as they manifeſt little of a Chriſtian Sympathy with them that are in Affliction when,

when they themſelves live at Eaſe, ſo I muſt tell ther they little know what it is, to be in an *American* Wilde neſs in ſuch Circumſtances, and I would not wiſh ther (were it lawfull to wiſh Evil to any Perſon) to be i ſadder Circumſtances in this World, then theſe afflicte People now were, in a remote, comfortleſs Wilderne ſ under the *Torrid Zon* in a ſickly Climate, encompaſſe with Enemies, and all Manner of Difficulties, a ver *Magor miſ-bib*: And were they in their Circumſtances their Souls in their Souls ſtead, I preſume they woul loſe their Courage and Boaſting, and be glad to accep of ſuch Terms as theſe. But among many other Hard ſhips that theſe poor afflicted People have met with they muſt be patient to ſuffer this further, to be a Lamps deſpiſed in the Thoughts of them that are at Eaſe

We may here rather think it ſtrange, how it came t paſs, that ſeeing the *Spaniards* had our People at ſuch Diſadvantages, and they had ſo many Ways the Advan tage of us (and they very well underſtood by Spie and others that had gone from us to them, how ſtraitne and difficult our Circumſtances were) yet they conde ſcended to grant us ſuch favourable Terms, and were not harder upon us.

What we could underſtand herein, as to ſecond Cauſes, that might have moved the *Spaniſh* General t grant unto our People here ſuch favourable Terms, wa this. That beſides his own People were forward in preſſing him to yield unto us, as eaſie Terms as migh be, and that without longer Delay: He had intercep ted a Letter written to our Councellors, by Mr. *Byars* fore mentioned, who was now upon this Coaſt returned from *Jamaica*, but durſt not venture to come in to us for Fear of the *Spaniards* in his Way, in that Letter Mr *Byars* had written to our Councellors out of Deſign ſuſpecting it might by the *Indians* the Bearers thereof

fa

into the *Spaniards* Hands, telling them to be courageous and hold out, for that there were great Supplies of Men and Provisions coming to them speedily. This Letter was sent by some *Indians* to the Eastward I suppose, and by the Way it was intercepted by the *Spaniards*, and brought unto the General, who suspecting there might be some Truth in it, was afraid of Delays, and therefore judged it best and safest to come to Articles with the Scots as soon as possible, to prevent, what after Inconveniencies might happen to his own Disadvantage. Besides he may suppose he was willing to have as cheap and easie a Victory over our People as he could: Should they stifly stand out and come to storm their Fort, he knew it would cost Blood, and the Loss of many of his Men, for our People being reduced to that Extremity, would kill before they were killed: But all this Loss he might this Way prevent.

But however it was, I shall not take upon me positively to determine, thus Divine Providence brought it to ane Issue, that the *Spaniards* were glade of, and many of the poor distressed *Caledonians*, were sensible of God's wonderful, seasonable and preventing Mercy, that had thus deliverd them from falling a prey to the Teeth of their bloody, *Popish* Enemies, with whom they expected to find no Mercy, though withal they lamented the sad loss and Disaster that had now as formerly befallen their Native Countrey.

Having before made mention of Mr. *Byars*, it must be here remembred, that whilst in his Sloop he was returning from *Jamaica* toward *Caledonia*, he had in company with him another small Vessel called the *Speedy-Return* Capt. *Baillie* Commander, aboard of whom was Mr *Mackay*, Who had been a Counsellor in the first Colony and had left this place before the said Colony deserted and gone for *Scotland*, and was now upon his Return from *Scotland* to *Caledonia*; But in the way betwixt *Jamaica*

maica and *Caledonia*, whilſt the ſaid Mr *Mc Cay* was fiſhing of ſharks ſtanding at the ſtern of the Veſſel, throug a ſudden falley of the ſhip, he fell overboard into the S and ſo periſhed in a very lamentable manner, being to in pieces by thoſe ravenous and devouring ſharks, the me aboard could make him no ſeaſonable help nor relief. M *Byars* and his ſloop did not get in to *Caledonia* becauſe the *Spaniards* lying in the way, as was noted before, a therefore he returned to *Jamaica*: But *Baltie*'s Veſſ having Capt. *Drummond* abovementioned aboard of hi who was well acquainted with the entry into *Caledon* Harbour, got into the ſame by night not being diſcove ed by the *Spaniards*. But our Capitulation with th *Spaniards* was concluded near two days before his Arriva ſo that his coming was too late for the Intereſt of this de ſign. So obſervably did Providence give new Check to this Undertaking, and the Adventurers therein.

While our Countrey-men abode in *Caledonia* they buried near 300 Men, as they reported, ſo that this place proved to our poor people firſt and laſt a *Kibroth-Hataavah*. An of theſe that ſurvived, the greater part of them were ſick and weak, ſome of them were ſo very low, that they died upon the ſhoar as they were carrying them to the Boats, and others of them expired in the Boats, before they could get them aboard the ſhips. It was no wonder therfore if many of them afterward died at ſea. The time our Men ſtayed in *Caldonia* was four *Moneths* and about 12 Days. The rainie ſeaſon was begun when we took a long farewell of this Corner of the Lords Earth, leaving the *Spaniards* in poſſeſſion of it.

On the 11. of *April* in the Evening 1700. Our People having now got all their ſurviving Men aboard, and matters brought to as good a poſture and prparation for ſailing, as their preſent low and hard circumſtances would allow.

They

They weighed Anchor with much difficultie, our men
ing for the moſt part, ſeamen as well as landmen, ve-
feeble and weak, endeavouring to get out of this har-
ur with their Ships: They had much difficulty with
e *Riſing-Sun*, ſhe being a bulkie Ship about 60 Guns,
d not ſo eaſie to work as the reſt, and the wind
ing ſmall and not very fair, ſo that ſhe was once in
zard of running a ſhoar upon the Rocks next to the
rt, but at length, with the help of the *Spaniards*, who
ere glade to be quite of us, as we were of them, by
wing and warping ſome ſail together, they got her out
ſafety before *Golden-Iſland*, where ſhe came to an An-
or in View of the *Spaniſh-Fleet*, on *April* 12 early in
e morning being Friday. This ſhip loſt one of her
nchors in *Caledonia-Harbour*, the reſt of our ſhips got out
ith leſs Trouble.

The Evening of the ſd Day weighing Anchor, we ſet ſail
l together. ſteering *North Eaſt*, deſigning for *Blewfields*
n *Jamaica*, as they had agreed among themſelves: But
hen once they had got out to Sea, every one made
e beſt of his way, not waiting for on another, nor ſtu-
ying to keep company together, ſo ſome of our Fleet
iling better than others, we ſoon loſt ſight of one another,
ur whole Fleet great and ſmall, conſiſted of 7 Veſſels
iz. The four ſhips that came together out of *Scotland*
nentioned before, *Bailies* Veſſel, Capt. *Campbell's* ſloop
nd an old ſloop.

As they had been exerciſed with ſore ſickneſs and mor-
ality while in *Caledonia*, ſo now when we were at Sea
t much encreaſed upon us, and no wonder it was, for
he poor ſick men were ſadly crouded together, eſpeci-
lly aboard the *Riſing-Sun* like ſo many Hogs in a ſtay
or ſheep in a Fold, ſo that their breath and noiſom ſmell
nfected and poiſoned on another, neither was there any
hing ſuitable or comfortable to give to the ſick and

dying

dying, the beſt was a little ſpoiled Oat-meal and wat
and poorly were they attended in their ſickneſs; A
it was a moſt uncomfortable and dangerous work, f
the poor Miniſters to go down among them, a'id vi
them in their ſad and dying condition, their noiſom
ſtench being ready to choak and ſuffocate any, Malig
nant Fevers and Fluxes, were the moſt common Diſea
es, which ſweept away great numbers from among u
from aboard of one ſhip the *Riſing-Sun* they would ſom
times bury in the Sea eight in one Morning, beſides wha
died out of the other ſhips, and when Men were take
with theſe Diſeaſes, they would ſometimes die, like me
diſtracted in a very ſad and fearful like manner, bu
this was yet more lamentable to be ſeen among the
poor afflicted and plagued people, that for all God
afflicted them, yet they ſinned ſtill the more, were a
hard and impenitent as before, would ſtill curſe an
ſwear, when Gods hand was heavy on them, and thei
Neighbours dying and dead about them. I remembe
it was the Obſervation of the Reverend Mr. *Shields* con
cerning this People, that he had converſed with man
ſorts of People, in ſeveral parts of the World, and ha
ſerved as a Miniſter for ſeveral Yeats in the Army i
Flanders, but he never had ſeen or been concerned with
ſuch a Company as this was for the greateſt part o
them. Surely this might make the poor Miniſters here tak
up *David's* Lamentation in *Pſalm* 120. 5. *Wo is me tha
I ſojourn in Meſech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar.*

While we were in our Voyage toward *Jamaica* Cap
Dallings ſhip turned very leacky, we had for ſometim
loſt Company of the *Riſing-Sun*, but by good Providenc
he did again meet with the ſaid ſhip at Sea, and th
People aboard of him were glad to be removed from hi
ſhip, that they might come aboard of the *Riſing-Sun* fo
their greater ſafety: So there were none ſtayed be
hin

nd aboard of *Dallings* ſhip, but the Seamen with Cap. *alling* but ſoon after his ſhip proved ſo leacky, that e Seamen durſt not venture to keep at ſea in her any nger, ſo they were neceſſitate to run with their ſhip in- *Carthagena*, the neareſt Port to them at this time, to ve themſelves from periſhing, and there at a low Rate ap. *Dalling* ſold his ſhip to the *Spaniards*, himſelf at ngth through many Dangers geting ſafely to *Jamaica*, here afterwards we did meet with him. This is now ne of our ſhips loſt ſince we left *Caledonia*.

Another of our Veſſels the old Sloop, became alſo very akie at Sea, ſhe miſſed the Iſland of *Jamaica*, and was ſhipwracked upon the Iſland of *Camanos*, which lyes weſt- ward from *Jamaica*, the greateſt part of the men aboard f her, were ſaved by the help of the Inhabitants of that ſland, where ſome of them after died, and others of them ot at length to *Jamaica*. This is another of our Veſſels oſt, ſince we came to Sea.

It was a tedious, difficult and moſt unconfortable paſ- age, that we had aboard the *Riſing-Sun*, on many accounts uch as raging ſickneſs, great mortality, bad unwholſome Proviſions unconfortable Company, Scant & narrow winds nd many dangers from without, which the Lord deliv- ered us from: But at length on *May* 7 we arrived afely at *Blewfields*, which is ſituate toward the weſt end of *Jamaica*, others of our Compauy, as Cap. *Miller's* Ship Cap. *Duncans* ſhip and *Bailies* Veſſel had got to *Jamaica* before us, only Cap. *Campbels* ſloop ſteered not our courſe but as afterward we underſtood, went directly to *New-York*, a far healthier Climate, and from thence got ſafely home to *Scotland*.

During our Voyage to *Jamaica* we buried many men at Sea, it was reckoned that out of our ſeveral ſhips, there died above 250 men within the ſpace of one *Moneth*, & that, perſons of all Ranks, Officers and Gentlemen as well as others.

After

After our Arrival at *Jamaica* our poor People tha
had ſurvived thoſe many Calamities, and had got thei
Lives for a Prey hitherto, did for the moſt Part g
aſhoar upon the Iſland, and were glad to hire them
ſelves Servants to Planters there, as they could mee
with the Offer of a Maſter, being earneſtly deſirous t
get out of that calamitous and moſt diſtreſſed Conditio
which they had been ſo long in, and were even almo
conſumed with.

It was a long Time that our Ships lay at *Jamaica*, nea
the Space of three Moneths, and during that Spac
many of the Seamen run away from and deſerted ou
ſhips, more eſpecially many of the *Riſing-ſun*'s Men, whic
proved a great Loſs to her, and much diſabled her fo
performing her Voyage homewards, a ſad Crew of Me
theſe were, little good Goverment was among them
ſometimes they would not at all regard the Command
of their Officers, but do as they pleaſed themſelves, an
what a Hell was it to be in their Company, who nei
ther feared GOD nor regarded Man.

The Sickneſs continued ſtill among our Men here in
Jamaica, and poorly were they treated and badly attend
ed in their Sickneſs, many of them died in this Plac
before we ſailed hence, and that of the Seamen as wel
as Landmen, the Intemperance of many of them her
where they had Opportunity to get ſtrong Liquors in
Plenty, did haſten their Death. It was ſuppoſed tha
our of the ſeveral Ships Companys that came alive t
Jamaica, there died near a hundred of them, before ou
Ships left this Iſland.

Among others of our Countrey-men that died her
in *Jamaica* the Reverend Mr *Alexander Shields* was on
He departed this Life at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica* on *June* 1
of a violent and malignant Fever, much lamented of al
that knew his Worth and Parts, and had the Occaſion

of his acquaintance: He had been heart weary and broken with this Company of Men, among whom he had laboured and converſed ſo long, with ſo little ſucceſs, and therefore left them and went up to *Port-Royal*, deſigning it ſeems to take Paſſage thence homeward by the Way of *London*: But Men propoſe and *GOD* diſpoſeth, for He had now done his Work, and it pleaſed his Maſter here to call for him, and to put an End to his weary and troubleſome pilgrimage, in this Spot of our *Lord*'s Earth: And now he reſts from his Labours, and his Works follow him: His Worth was little knowen or prized by the moſt of theſe he had ſojourned and laboured among in the Work of the goſpel, of whom they were not worthy. This Stroak was an awfull Frown of Providence, upon that poor Company which he was taken from, and had ſo often and affectionatly exhorted, reproved and admoniſhed, for the Righteous are taken away from the Evil to come: He was decently buried by ſome Kind and Diſcreet *Engliſh* Inhabitants in *Port-Royal*, in the Burial place near *Kingſtoun* in *Jamaica*, a kind Country-woman *Iſabel Murray* paying the Expences of his Funeral. He had only preached one Sabbath at *Port-Royal*, upon that Text, *Hoſ.* 14. 9. *The Ways of the Lord are Right*, which proved his laſt Sermon in this World. When he was in *Caledonia*, He preached moſtly on that Text, *Acts* 17. 26. 27. *GOD hath determined the Times before appointed, and the Bounds of our Habitation.* He had a ſtrong Impreſſion for ſome Years before (as I have heard from ſome who were intimate with him, that he ſhould dy about the Middle of *June*, and ſo it came to paſs.

There died here alſo in *Jamaica* two of our young Men, Students in *Divinity*, Mr *Greg* and Mr *Potter*, Mr *James Main* died here likewiſe, after we had left this Iſland.

The Divine Providence wrought graciouſly in Behalf of the other ſurviving Miniſters, Mr *Stobo* with his Wife, Mr *Borland*, and the Widow of Mr *Dalglieſh*, in that they had their Lives given them for a Prey, in the Midſt of ſo many Deaths, ſome of them brought back from the Gates of Death, and here they were kindly received and entertained by Strangers, till the LORD directed them ſeverally by right Ways, and carried them at laſt to Places of Comfort and Refreſhment, by a *Series* of wonderfull, gracious and well-ordering Providences.

About a Month after we had arrived at *Jamaica*, we had Intelligence by a *Jamaica* Sloop come from *Caledonia*, that the *Spaniards* were continuing their Abode in that Place, but that they were very ſickly there, as the *Scots* had been before them.

There was another *Scots* Veſſel from *Dundee* that had ſailed to *Caledonia*, after our Arrival at *Jamaica*, but they met with an unexpected Diſappointment, as others had done before them, finding their Country-men gone, and the *Spaniards* now poſſeſſing that Place, who would not ſuffer their Boat to land, but did them no further Damnage, ſo they ſailed for *Jamaica*, where they found our Ships lying at *Blew-fields*, and ſhortly after, not finding our Veſſels ready to ſail, they returned in their Voyage for *SCOTLAND*.

On *July* 21. The *Riſing-Sun* having by this Time got all ready to ſail, and preſerved as many of their ſeamen as they could, having alſo ſome of our Landmen aboard, among which were Mr *Stobo* one of our Miniſters with his wife, Their whole number, ſeamen and Paſſengers being about 140 Perſons, weighed Anchor and ſet ſail from *Blewfields* in *Jamaica*, deſigning home for *Scotland*: The reſt of our ſhips, ſome of them had ſet ſail ſome days before, and others of them ſoon after, the ſaid ſhip the *Riſing-Sun* ſteered on her Courſe

Course, till they came up with the Gulph of *Florida*. And being got this length on the 14 of *August* there came upon them suddenly a violent storm of Wind which in a few minuts carried all their Masts by the board, and staved their boats which they had left all to pieces, by this dismal disaster they were brought to a very forlorn like Condition, their ship becoming very leaky, and wanting all their Masts and Tackling they were like a wrack upon the Sea. However in this Extremity making the best shift they could, with the help of a Jury-mast, and what pieces of Tackling they had left, with much difficultie they got up to the coast of *Carolina*, and on *August* 24 they came to Anchor before *Charles-Town* in *Carolina*, about nine miles from the harbour before the Town, there being a Barr before the harbour, that such great ships cannot get over. They were designed to take out her Guns and loadning to lighten her, that so drawing less Water, she might get over the barr. But poor people they knew little what a sad hour was speedily to overtake them, *Eccl.* 9. 12 As fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as birds are caught in the snare, so are the sons of men snared in ane evil time when it falleth suddently upon them. By the gracious Providence of God there were 15 of them a shoar, among which were Mr *Stobo* and his Wife, before the following destruction overwhelmed this poor Company aboard the *Rising-Sun*.

On *September* 3 In the Night, it pleased the holy and Sovereign God to send down a most terrible and dreadful Hurricane, that raged so fearfully and impetuously, that this ship the *Rising-Sun* was in a little time all staved to pieces, and all the poor people that were aboard of her, were lost and perished in the raging sea to the number of 112 Persons, here poor Capt. *Gibson* and all his company died, and none were preserved but

those 15 Persons, that were ashoar before this fatal stroak came on, the names of these 15 preserved, as I learned from Leutenant *Grahame*, who was on of them, were *James Byars* a Counsellor mentioned above, Cap. *Urqhuart*, Mr. *Stobo* and his Wife Leutenant *Grahame* forementioned *David Kenneay* Leiut. *Durham*, Ensign *John Murray*, Ensign *Robert Colqhoun William Bready*, *John Spence*, *James dick*, *Alex. Hendrie John Miker* a boy, & *Jam. Pickens*. These were all that were saved from this overthrow, of them that were lost, some of their dead Bodies were driven ashoar, with some pieces of the wrack but nothing considerable, Thus the great and costly ship the *Rising-Sun* came to such a sudden and tragical end, and did here sett in such a dark and dismal a cloud. This last blow being one of the sorest and most tremenduous of all the sad stroaks, which have befallen this design and Compay concerned therin hitherto. *Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis.*

Sometime after this dreadful overthrow, I had a Letter from Mr *Stobo* in *Carolina*, giving an account of his wonderful preservation, and the circumstances of this company that here perished to the effect following - - - - I doubt not but ye have heared how narrowly I escaped the Judgment that came upon the *Rising-Sun*, I and my wife, were scarce well gone from her, when wrath seized upon her, we were the last that came from her, and after our departure the storm came so sudden, that none could find the Way to her it was of the Lords Remarkable Mercy that we were not consumed in the stroak with the rest. They were such a rude Company, that I believe *Sodom* never declared such impudence in sinning as they, any observant eye might see, that they were running the Way they went, hell and judgment was to be seen upon them and in them before the time. You saw them bad, but

but I saw them worse, their Cup was full, they could hold no more, they were ripe, they must be cut down with the sickle of his Wrath. - - - Here I lost my Books and all, and have only my life for a prey, with my Skin as it were in my Teeth.

It is observable that before this dreadful Destruction befell this ship and Company, It pleased the Holy, Alwise and Gracious GOD, to remove from them all their Ministers, who had successively sailed in this ship, and preached to this Company. First Mr *Shields* was separated from their Company at *Jamaica*, and taken away by Death there at *Port-Royal* as is above related, afterwards Mr *Borland* was directed by the wise and well ordering Providence of the Lord, to leave this ship and Company, while they were lying at *Jamaica*, and to steer his Course another Way, *first* he took passage for *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, then he took Passage for *Boston* in *New-England*, and lastly he took passage for *London* and from thence. *Per varios Casus per tot Discrimina*, he got safely home by Land to his own again, The Lord leading, Preserving, Healing strengthning and upholding all the way. Then last of all Mr *Stobo* was remarkably and wonderfully taken from them, as a Brand out of the fire, but a little before their final overthrow: Thus when once *Lot* was got out of *Sodom* into *Zoar*, then without any longer delay, the Lord rained destruction from Heaven upon those Cities of Iniquity, *Gen.* 19. 23. 24.

The Providence of God was very gracious to Mr *Stobo* and his wife, here at *Charles-Town* in *Carolina*, in that when they were here brought ashoar poor strangers, and had lost all their Furniture, it pleased the Lord who cares for his poor strangers every where to incline the hearts of some discreet and kind christian people here, to befriend Mr *Stobo* and supply his wants

yea

yea to call him to be their Minister, and give him a comfortable Maintinance, for they were at present in much Want and need of such a Minister, and so this remarkable Providence, in casting Mr *Stobo* here at this time and in such a manner, was both a wonderful mercy to Mr *Stobo*, and a seasonable and unexpected Mercy to this kind people in *Carolina*, and here I suppose Mr *Stobo* continues to this day, if he be yet alive.

While we were in *Caledonia*, I remember one of the Ministers preached a Sermon aboard this ship the *Rising-Sun* upon that Text *Numbers* 32. 23. *Behold you have sined against the Lord, and be sure your sins shall find you out*, And behold here, how God made good his word of Threatning, which this poor Company would not believe nor regard, for now their sins found them out with a witness.

It is a great Truth, that the Judgments of God are often very remarkable, as in the kind and manner of them, so also sometimes in the very place of them: The Lord gives men occasion to observe sometimes their Sin in their Punishment, even in the very place of it as the Lord dealt with *Israel* of old in the wilderness, *Numb.* 14. 2. 28. 29. In the wilderness they had grievously sined and provoked God, well says God, in this Wilderness your Carcases shall fall: Some good People in *Scotland* that had formerly known Capt. *Gibson* forementioned, and his Conversation, having understood his coming to such a sudden and awful End at *Carolina*, from thence took occasion to remember and reflect upon, his former cruel and inhumane Carriage, toward those poor Prisoners, whom he transported to the same *Carolina* in the Year 1684. And to observe how that here, in the very same place, it pleased the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth. to call him in so terrible a manner to his Account. And though the judgment

udgments of the Lord be a great deep, and we are alled to judge ſoberly and cautiouſly of them, yet when God's hand is lifted up ſo viſibly and remarkably, ſurely we are called to regard and obſerve his operations nd wiſely to conſider his doings, *Pſa.* 64. 9. How the ord makes himſelf known by the judgment wich he xecuteth, and how he deals out judgment without mery, to them that had ſhewed no mercy. This ſhip the *iſing-Sun* had been a Veſſel in which much ſin was comitted, and in that ſame Bottom, God brought many f theſe poor people to a ſudden and lamentable end hip and Company Periſhed alltogether. Let our fleſh emble for fear of him, and let us be afraid of his Judgnents.

By the ſame Hurricane at *Carolina*, there was another f our ſhips loſt in *Charles-Town* Harbour, which was apt. *Duncans* Ship, but the men ſaved their lives Cap *Duncan* himſelf, who was a diſcreet ſober man, died n *Jamaica*, before his ſhip ſailed thence, his Spirit beg broken by the many ſad diſaſters which he had ett with in this Undertaking.

The ſaid Hurricane did alſo a great Dale of Damage to the Country of *Carolina*, deſtroying their Corn nd Rice burying it in the Ground, breaking down the rees, overthrowing their Houſes. There were alſo veral other Ships loſt by this Hurricane, that were ing in this Harbour, and ſeveral of the Men aboard of em loſt.

Another of our Ships called the *Company's Hope* Cap. *Aillar* Commander, was alſo loſt in her Voyage from *maica*, being caſt away upon the Rocks called *Colora-*, on the Weſt-End of *Cuba*, but the Men aboard this eſſel ſaved themſelves by their boats, ſome going aoar upon *Cuba*. and betaking themſelves to the *Spani-rds*, and others of them returning to *Jamaica*. Capt.

Veatch

Veatch one of our Counſellors ſailed Paſſenger in thi Veſſel, but he died at Sea before the Shipwrack of th Veſſel, he was a ſober, diſcreet and prudent Man, bu broken with the many Croſſes and burdens he me with in this Undertaking.

Bailies Veſſel and Captain *Campbel*'s Sloop, did bot get Home to *Scotland*, which are all of our Fleet tha came from *Caledonia*, that were preſerved from Ruin

The four Ships that ſailed together out of *Scotland* being all loſt, and the Men moſt Part Dead.

I ſhall here remember the Names of ſome of ou Countrey-men that deceaſed ſince we came from *Scot land*, ſome by Sea and others by Land.

Mr *Alexander Dalglieſh* his Maid and his Child

Capt. *Wallace*	*Stewart* of *Minto*	
Enſign *Kinaird*	Mr *Johnſton* and his Wife and So	
Capt. *Ramſay*	*Chriſtopher Strong*	*Robert Alſton*
William Maſterton	*James Bowton*	*Michael Shields*
Mr *Jefferies* Ingenier	*John Gawie*	*James Bowers*
Mr *Thomas Greg*	Mr *John Potter*	Mr *James Main*
Mr *John Muir*	Laird of *Dunlop*	
Mr *Andrew Stewart*	Brother to the Earl of *Galloway*	
Capt. *Kerr*	Lieut. *Kerr*	Capt. *Murray*
Sir *Alex*, *Kinaird*	*Samuel Fulerton*	*William Taylor*
James Bowdon	*Claud Moor*	Capt. *John Bail*
Enſign *Bailie*	*Alex. Hamilton*	Capt. *Bain*
Enſign *John Innies*	Enſign *Hugh Scot*	Enſig. *John You*
Ninian Warden	*Alex. Campbel*	Mr *Aex. Shield*
Lieut. *Alex. Ramſay*	*John Brown*	Capt. *Mc intoſh*
Enſign *Arthur*	Ld. *Mungo Murray*	Major *Ramſay*
Capt. *Montgomery*,	*Nathan Maxwel*	Capt. *Duncan*
Capt. *Gibſon*	Counſ. Maj. *Lindſay* C.	Capt. *Veatch* Co

Tho

homas Millar Surg. *John Baslie* Surgeon *William Lamb*
Villiam Cunningham Mr *Mc niel* Mr *Colvill*
oatswain of the *Rising-sun* and his Son a little Boy.

From all these preceeding Accounts, we may very ear compute, that since the first begining of this Design to settle a Colony in *Caledonia* in *America*, untill hat last dreadful blow upon the *Rising-sun* and her Company at *Carolina*, Our Nation has lost near two thousand Men in this Undertaking, by Sea and Landtogether, so expensive and costly a bargain hath this Project been, as to the Loss of many Men's Lives, besides the Expence and Loss of a vast Treasure bestowed thereupon.

Tantæ molis erat Darienſem *colere Terram*,
So costly and so dear was this Design.
To plant a Colony in *Darien*

So many and so calamitous were the Disasters that befell this Design and Company concerned therein: From all which we may draw some Observations and make some Reflections, for our Instruction, out of the Eater we may fetch forth Meat, and out of the strong we may draw out Sweetness.

1. From all that hath befallen this Undertaking and Company, it is sadly evident and plain, that he that runs may read it, how a holy and Just GOD has eminently appeared against, counteracted and frowned upon all the Steps of it, from the first to the last, and upon them that were concerned therein: And these sad blows and Frowns reach Home to our Nation also, with a sad Aspect upon them, speaking forth the Lords Anger, and call for Humiliation from all. Surely GOD is angry with us and has turned a deaf Ear to our Prayers

ers, the Cry of our Sins, hath outdone the Cry of our Prayers, and hath extorted ſo many awful Inſtances of the Holy Severity of a Jealous GOD againſt us. That Clauſe in the *Commiſſion's* printed Letter, Pag. 15. 16. has had a ſad and true Accompliſhment, upon the Perſons employed in this Undertaking------(if you forſake him He will forſake you, and all your forward Expectations and blooming Hopes, ſhall be blaſted and wither, and your Colony laid deſolate, your Names inſtead of Honour and Renown, ſhall be branded with Infamy, Hiſſing and Scorn, and your Bleſſings turned into Curſes, and the Lord ſhall pluck you up and not plant you, and ſhall ſeparate you unto Evil *Deut.* 29. 21. after he had ſaid, He would do you Good.

2. But you may ſay what meaneth all the Heat of this great Anger, why hath the Holy GOD walked ſo contrary to us? Is it not becauſe we have walked contrary to him *Lev.* 26. 23. 24. *And did caſt his Precepts behind our Backs*, we did not honour him in our Deſign and Way, but many Ways diſhonour, contemn and rebell againſt him. Therefore He hath expoſed us to Contempt and Reproach among Strangers, He hath watched upon the Evil, and brought it upon us, He has troubled us in his Wrath, and vexed us in his ſore Diſpleaſure, and hath followed us with one Stroak after another, and broken us with Breach upon Breach: Theſe that had eſcaped the Fear, he has made them to fall into the Pit, and they that had got out of the Pit, He hath made them to be taken in the Snare *Iſa.* 24. 17. 18. *His Anger hath not turned away from us, till it hath conſumed the moſt of us*: They who had got out of one Fire, another Fire hath devoured them, *Ezek.* 15. 7. *Surely the LORD hath made our Sins to find us out with a Witneſs, Num.* 32. 23.

3.

3. That the ſins of a profeſſing People outwardly in
venant with GOD, and enjoying the Means of Grace
d Calls to Repentance, when ſtill they continue Re-
llious, Obſtinate and Stifnecked, will ſooner or later
ng down upon them, the ſevereſt of Judgments *Amos*
2. *You only have I known of all the Families of the Earth,*
therefore I will puniſh you for all your Iniquities. GOD
ll long bear with many Things in another People,
ich He will not let paſs without ſevere and more
edy Rebukes upon a profeſſing, but impenitent and
orrigible People.

4. That all the Rods and Judgments of GOD, yea
ercies and Deliverances too, toward ſtubborn and
penitent Sinners, will not of themſelves alone, humble
d reform Sinners, make them ceaſe to do Evil and
rn to do well, unleſs ſovereign and ſpecial Grace con-
rr, and joyn in together with the ſame. Oh! How
ſible and Remarkable was this, in this poor Com-
ny, who notwithſtanding they were ſo plagued and
itten of GOD, yet they rebelled ſtill, they ſinned
t more: Yea many Times did He deliver them, but
ll they dealt proudly, were unthankfull, and harkned
t to his Commands: The Goodneſs and Patience
GOD, did not lead them to Repentance.

5. It is an awfull Demonſtration of the LORD's An-
r againſt Men when he infatuates their Counſells, ſuf-
rs them to take wrong Steps and Meaſures, *Quos*
eus vult perdere, dementat prius, and when he leaves
em to truſt in an Arm of Fleſh, and their own carnal
licy, ſo that they look away from the Holy One of *Iſ-*
el, and when he removes uſeful Inſtruments, and per-
its worſe to be employed and continue in their Stead.

6 When men are big and puffed up with lofty hopes
d high expections from earthly things, how promiſ-
g like ſoever they be, boaſt & confide in, their own world

ly

ly wisdom and strength their projects and measur
It is just with God to blast them therein, and ma
them to see themselves to be but men, their wisd
to be but Foolishness, and to be ashamed of their va
confidences. Hereby God teaching us to trust flesh a
the World less, and to look to God more, to ha
our hopes and expectations from the world. mean a
low, and make God our only glorying and confiden
O the great vanity, emptiness and uncertainty of
Worldly things, and hopeful like projects here belo
Trust not in sublunary things, nor expect Happine
therefrom *Jer.* 17. 5. Earthly happiness will never a
swer full measure to mans desire. May the many s
disasters and surpizing Disappointments, which atten
ed this affair of *Caledonia*, teach us to moderate o
Desires and expectations from earthly things, not
seek them overeagerly, though they may seem nev
so advantagious and promising like, nor to be overgr
ved or disquieted for the loss and defeating of our hop
about the same, considering the great uncertainty of t
sequel and event of all humane affairs. And may the sam
Experiment also learn our people at home, to value an
esteem more highly, the glorious Gospel of our Lor
Jesus and the Blessings thereof, their merchandize whe
of is better than the merchandize of Silver, and th
Gain thereof greater, than all the fine Gold in the *In*
dies. When outward things fail and miscarry, lear
we more highly to prize, and earnestly to seek after th
true Riches, that will never fail, and no man can ro
us off.

7 If one Sinner destroy much good *Eccl.* 9. 18. muc
more will many sinners more surly do it, what won
der is it, if great and hopeful like Designs miscarry, whe
unskilful and unfaithful Instruments, are employed an
entrusted with the managment thereof, they that send

Meſſage by the hands of Fools, cut off the feet and
ink damnage *Pro.* 26, 6. our countreymen at home have
l and too late experience hereof, Great deſigns had
ed to be well founded and framed, and wiſely ma-
ged and carried on all places in *America* are not alike
to plant Colonies in, neither are all men fit to be
truſted with ſuch a Work.

8. In common Judgments and Calamities, the Holy
d Sovereign GOD ſometimes ſees it meet, to ſuffer
en ſeveral of his dear Servants and precious ones to
l and be carried off the ſtage thereby, his Judgments
a great Deep, but it is in mercy to his own People
when, or where or in what manner it pleaſeth God
ey are taken away from the evil to come and enter
o peace, but it prognoſticates no good to that People
ſpecially if impenitent and unthankful) from whom
ey are removed, but rather evil and fear of future
ath and approaching Judgments.

9. The great Governour of the World in common
d epidemical Judgments upon poor ſinful Men, yet
members mercy in the midſt of deſerved Wrath and
ger, and does not make a full end, but ſpares ſome
be monuments of his rich Mercy and diſtinguiſh-
g and ſparing Goodneſs. That they may tell of all
s wondrous works, and ſound forth his Praiſes. Sur-
then, theſe Perſons who have got their life for a prey
d have eſcaped theſe many and various Deſtructions
t their eyes have ſeen, and which they have
a good meaſure been tried by, and very narrowly
aped: Are under deep Obligations to remember all
way, which the Lord led them through the Wilder-
s and through the ſea, and how he lifted up his hand
their Deliverance, and to ſing of the mercies of the
rd *Pſ.* 89. 1. To ſing of mercy and Judgment *Pſ.*
1. 1. And to pay their vows to the moſt High

Pſal.

Pſal. 50. 14. while they have a day to live in the wo

How obſervably and wonderfully does GOD ſo times guide his People and lead them by ruining diſaſ he leads the blind in a way they know not, and b right way, and pulls them as a brand out of the burn and orders thoſe Providences and means of their p ſervation, the deſign whereof they little underſtood the time, it is good for GOD's People, that they a all their concerns and motions, are in the Lords ha and not their own, he is wonderful in counſel and e cellent in working. *Perigrini Deo Curæ.*

10. Some of thoſe poor people concerned in the many changes, diſaſters, hardſhips and calamities, ha cauſe to celebrate the praiſes of the Lord, that as the Burdens and tryals were many and heavy, ſo the mo Gracious and everbleſſed Lord gave them a back for t Burden, and as their Day was, ſo he made their ſtreng to be, in the mount the Lord was ſeen, and in the da when they cryed unto him in trouble, he comforte them, and ſaid to them, fear not: Yea prevented ther with his mercy, in the valley of *Achor* [trouble] h gave them a door of hope, and made them to ſee tha the moſt deplorable and ſeemingly deſperate eſtate o God's People, is capable of comfort, and may in God' due time be changed into a proſperous Condition. Go is a juſt, holy, allwiſe, allſufficient, Covenant keeping and infinitly gracious GOD to his own Remnant, wher ever they be; and is never at a loſs to be and do for them let their caſe be never ſo deſperate like, yet they may ſtill encourage themſelves in the Lord their GOD. Faith in GOD, Prayer unto him, patient waiting upon him and keeping his way, are ſtill the beſt, ſafeſt, ſureſt and moſt comfortable Courſe, for the people of GOD, in all their Changes and tentations in this troubleſome world ſo that though they be as ſorowful outwardly, yet they

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e always rejoicing in the Lord, in whom [they have
eace.

11. GOD's Government of things here below, is of
n myſterious and dark for the preſent, but always juſt
oly, wiſe, and gracious to his own People in End. Let
s not then go about to judge or quarrel GOD in his
rovidences, but rather where we cannot comprehend
m, let us reverently adore him, ſaying, Righteous art
ou O Lord, who haſt judged thus. For though clouds
d Darkneſs are round about him, yet Righteouſneſs &
dgment are the habitation of his Throne [Pſ. 95. 2.]
nd let us believe that what we ſee not and know not
w, He will make us to ſee and know hereafter, and
the End to ſay He hath done all things well: E-
n our breakings and loſſes and diſappointments, have
nded to our gain and advantage, *Peruſem niſi periſſem*
ho knows what good the Lord may in the Iſſue bring
th out of all theſe diſmal and breaking Providences
favours of our Nation? Said *Joſeph* to his Brethren
n. 50. 20. You thought evil againſt me, but GOD
ant it for good. We are prone to miſconſtruct the
ovidencs of God, when they do not ſuit our preſent
nal deſires and expectations, and to think and ſay
theſe things are againſt us, when in the mean time
wiſdom of God may be ordering and diſpoſing them
our greater Advantage. We ordinarly look only
preſent things, but God looks to the end of things
l wiſely orders & overrules all events his own time &
y, to the beſt ends, remember here the ſtory of *Joſeph*
d ſee how God made all the croſs like providences &
juſt uſages which he mett with to contribute direct-
to his future advancement and glory and to the pre-
vation of his Fathers Family. *De operibus Dei ante*
ntum Actum, non eſt Judicandum Iſa. 28. 29.

12. When GOD's Judgments are abroad in the World

He expects and calls that the Inhabitants of the Ear
will learn Righteousness (*Isa.* 26. 9.) and more
specially those who are more nearly and immediatly co
cerned therein. O that our Nation of *SCOTLAN*
may consider and lay to Heart, the Voice of GO
toward them, by such awful and dismal Frowns a
Rebukes of his Providence against them, and their U
dertakings both at home and abroad. Surely h
Controversy was not only against that poor Compan
sent abroad into the Wilderness, but is also with o
People at home, who imployed and sent them, as is
vident by GOD's breaking their Works, and staini
the Pride of their Glory, and making them to be asha
ed of their vain Confidences. Certainly then GOD cal
our Nation to consider their Ways, as He called the
of old in *Hag.* 1. 7. 9. *Thus saith the Lord, ye look
for much and lo it came to little, therefore consider your way*
that so we may see our Sins and Provocations the Groun
of Gods contending with us, be deeply humbled an
mourn for them, and repent and reform. Think n
that those poor People who have fallen abroad in th
Wilderness and in the Sea, were Sinners above all the
that live still in *Scotland*, alas! Is it not Matter of sa
Lamentation, that there are still vast Numbers of a
Ranks yet behind, as bad as they, who in a Land
Uprightness, will still do wickedly, and will not behol
the Majesty of the LORD, who sin with an hig
Hand, against all Warnings, much Light and muc
Love, who mock at Religion and Godliness, despi
the Gospel, and turn the Grace of GOD unto Wanton
ness: Say not then, we are better than they, or th
those Men were sinners above all them that dwell i
Scotland, for our Lord tells us (*Luk.* 13. 3. 5.) *Th
except we repent, we shall all likewise perish.* Have ou
poor Countrey-men abroad, met with such Things

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nd do we think to go altogether unpuniſhed. May ve not ſuppoſe that a Holy GOD has ſet them up as Beacons and warning Pieces to us, that we may ſee, what we may juſtly expect, if we do not betimes with holy Fear, repent and turn and learn Righteouſneſs. O let us conſider God's Anger againſt them, his ſmiting hem with Plague upon Plague, and wherefore was he o wroth with them? Was it not becauſe they had inned: Learn we then Inſtruction from their being nade ſuch an Example. *Lege Hiſtoriam ne fias Hiſtoria.*

Who can peruſing this, but be diſmaid,
GOD's awful Judgments ſhould make us afraid.

Caledonia hath been a very loſing as well as expenve Bargain, to moſt Perſons that have been concerned herein, whether at Home or abroad: Pity it is that ve ſhould be every Way Loſers: To make ſome mends for which Loſſes, and to give ſome Relief and aſe to our Complaints, and obviat our Murmurings nd Diſcontents, and to let us ſee what Profit and Adantage we may reap, even out of the Ruines of *Caleonia*, is the main Deſign of theſe Memoirs and Obſerations thereupon. Which if they be duely weighed nd conſidered without Prejudice, with a ſingle Eye nd a chriſtian Aim: It is hoped the Loſers will have auſe to ſay with *David*, *It is Good for them that they have een afflicted*, out of their Diſappointments and Breakngs, there hath ſprung forth much Advantage, and hrough Mercy, what they have loſt is not all loſt, for heir worldly Loſs hath turned to their ſpiritual Gain nd Wiſdom, and by ſuch convincing Arguments of the anity, uncertainty and deceitful Nature of all Creaure Comforts and Expectations, they have learned ore to realize and live upon Divine Immutable Allfficiency, to ſecure to themſelves better and more ading Riches, and to chuſe GOD's Teſtimonies for

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their Heritage for ever, and make them the rejoycing of their Heart.

To conclude these Memoirs and Observations upon the *Caledonian* Affairs, it may perhaps be not improper nor unusefull for the composing and regulating the unquiet Motions and undue Thoughts of our Spirits, through the many cross Providences that have attended this Undertaking, to insert here this following Relation.

There was an *Hermite* who was vexed with blasphemous Injections about the Wisdom and Justice of Divine Providence. An Angel in humane Shape appears to him, and invites him to travail with him, that he might see the hidden Judgments of *GOD*. The first Night they lodged at the House of a Man who kindly entertained them, the Angel took away a valuable Cup from their Host, at their going away in the Morning, and bestowed this Cup upon a very wicked Man, with whom they lodged the second Night. The third Night, they were most lovingly treated at the House of a very Godly Man, from whom when they went in the Morning, the Angel meeting a Servant of his, threw him over a Bridge into the Water, where he was drowned. And in the fourth Night, being in like Manner most courteously entertained at the House of a very Godly Man, the Angel before Morning, did unaccountably kill this Godly Mans only Child. The Companion of the Journey being wonderfully offended at these Things, would have left his Guardian: But the Angel then thus addressed him, understand now (says he) the secreet Judgements of God, the first Man that entertained us, did inordinatly affect that Cup, which I took from him, it was for the Advantage of his inward Man that I took it away: And I gave it unto the wicked Man, as the present Reward of his

his good Works, which is all the Reward that he is like to have. As for our third Hoſt, the Servant which I ſlew, had formerly a bloody Deſign to have killed his Maſter, but now you ſee, I have ſaved the Life of the Maſter, and prevented ſomething of Growth unto the eternal Puniſhment of the Murderer. As for our fourth Hoſt. before his Child was born unto him, he was a very liberal and bountiful Perſon, and did Abundance of Good with his Eſtate: But when he ſaw that he was like to leave ſuch an Heir, he grew covetous, wherefore the Soul of the Infant is tranſlated into *Paradiſe*, but the Occaſion of Sin, is you ſee mercifully taken away from the Parent.

Pſal. 119. 137. *Righteous art thou O LORD and upright are thy Judgments.*

Pſal. 145. 17. *The LORD is righteous in all his Ways, and holy in all his Works.*

Deut. 32. 4. *He is the Rock, his Work is perfect, for all his Ways are Judgement, a GOD of Truth and without Iniquity, Juſt and Right is he.*

By Way of Appendix here, we may briefly from theſe preceeding Accounts, remark ſome manifeſt Diſadvantages and inſuperable Difficulties, that our Settlement in *Darien* was expoſed to and attended with.

1. Our Settlement in *Darien* was in the very Boſom of our *Spaniſh* Enemies, and too near bordering upon their Plantations round about us on all Hands, except the *North*, *viz.* There was *Carthagena* a powerfull Settlement of theirs to the *Eaſtward*, there was *Portobel* and *Panama* to the *Weſtward*, and *Sancta-maria* to the *Southward*, all within 60 Leagues of us, and ſome of them at much leſs Diſtance: From which they could in a few Days bring conſiderable Forces againſt us, and work our Ruine, and nipp our Colony in the Bud. This was a very conſiderable and manifeſt Diſadvantage, that

that our Colony was expoſed to, in its firſt ſettling here, we ſat down beſide ill Neighbours, and thoſe too many and too powerfull for us, and the *Spaniards* declared that ſo long as their Kingdom had any Ability, they would never ſuffer a Colony of Strangers to ſettle there, ſo near their Doors, to the undermining of their Trade; therefore I have heard it declared by ſome underſtanding Merchants in *America*, that unleſs we could be Maſters of the Sea upon this Coaſt, and keep up a Power here ſuperior to that of *Spain*, we could never expect to keep that Place.

2. Our Settlement in *Darien*, was in a very ſickly and unwholſome Climate as is marked above, therefore the *Spaniards* deſerted it long ago, and could our People of a far more Northerly Latitude than *Spain* is, expect here long to thrive and proſper, this Conſideration alone, would ſoon have made our People weary of it, as a Place too hot for them, and too coſtly and chargable to maintain.

3. Our People, both at Home and thoſe ſent abroad to the Colony, were but raw and unskillfull, moſt of them, in Matters relating to the planting of a Colony in the *Weſt-Indies*, their Conſtitution, Tempers, Experience and Education, did ill ſuit with this Undertaking.

4. The Government of this Colony being committed to many Hands conjunctly and not mainly entruſted to the Care and Managment of one eminent, skillfull and well qualified Perſon, this, as was above noted, had alſo it's Effects, upon the ill Succeſs and breaking of this Deſign.

5. The Place of our Harbour and Fort here, was ill choſen and fixed upon, it being ſo difficult and dangerous getting out of it, for a great Part of the Year, beſides it was near half a Mile diſtant from good Water,

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6. Our Neighbours at Home and their Plantations abroad, ſome of them, looked upon our Settlement and Undertaking, with a jealous and evil Eye, and the Effects of this, proved alſo diſadvantagious, to the Succeſs of our Colony; for how were we able to ſtand before ſuch Envy? Eſpecially when alone, and left to our ſingle Strength.

7. This Place of our Settlement lay very remote from our Native Countrey of *Scotland*, it was a long Voyage between them, and when we could expect but ſeldom Supplies of Proviſion, but what muſt come from *Scotland*, this was no ſmall Diſcouragment to our Colony, as our Proviſions are none of the beſt for Tranſportation to the *Weſt-Indies*, ſo they muſt needs be much damnified before they could arrive at *Darien*, and there was great Hazard alſo of their coming too late, as it fared with them of the firſt Colony.

Now if any perſon ſhall think fit to cenſure ſome of theſe formentioned Difficulties and Impediments, in the Way of this Colonies thriving here, yet let him view and conſider them all jointly, and then paſs Sentence, whether our Colony in *Darien* could proſper.

Non noceant quamvis ſingula, juncta nocent.

NO wonder then, our Infant Colony
In *Darien*, could not long Time thriving be,
By ſuch ill Neighbours, in a Spot of Earth
Beſet with Griefs, and daily Views of Death:
Remote from Friends, the Objects of Envy
To many, who did wiſh we here might die:
Our ſingle Strength, but feeble to ſupport us,
Our Skill in ſuch Affairs, ſmall to direct us.

Beſides

Beſides an higher Cauſe of our Diſtreſſes (es
GOD's wrath againſt us, for our great Treſpaſ-
Then ſtrange not that our new Plantation
Soon died, and came to Deſolation.

FINIS.

D
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